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THE NONCONFORMIST.

"The dissidence of dissent and the protestantism of the protestant religion."

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ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS.

JOHN FOSTER, one of those men whom Providence sends into the world about once in a century, to do the work of thinking for the age in which they live, to sift the particles of truth from the heap of rubbish with which they had for generations been mixed up, and fuse them into a consistent whole, and give them universal currency—John Foster, in his essay, "On the Application of the Epithet Romantic," makes the following admirable remarks. "The weakest or most uncultivated mind may gratify its vanity, laziness, and malice, all at once, by a prompt application of vague condemnatory words, where a wise and liberal man would not feel himself warranted to pronounce without the most deliberate consideration, and where such consideration might, perhaps, terminate in applause. Thus the most excellent performances, whether in the department of thinking or of action, might be consigned to contempt, if there were no better judges, on the authority of those who could not even understand them. A man who wishes some decency and sense to prevail in the circulation of opinions, will do well, when he hears these decisions of ignorant arrogance, to call for a precise explication of the manner in which the terms apply to the subject."

We recommend this sentence to the study of that little knot of men who characterise the separation of church and state as "a pure abstraction," and whose accommodating consciences can allow them to take a liberal retaining fee in the service of religious freedom, and at the same time cast contempt upon voluntarism as "an abstract principle." In all ages there have been flies who blow on that which feeds them, and who succeed in making offensive, what, until they pitched upon it, was sound and wholesome!

An abstract principle! Why, this is just an equivalent for the epithet "romantic," applied to truth instead of persons. It is used by the same class of men. It indicates the same feebleness and arrogance of mind in those who resort to it. It displays the same assumption of superior wisdom as a coverlet to the same indolence of thought. It is the readiest stone with which to hit every project which demands sincerity and earnestness of effort. It renders reasoning unnecessary. It supplies the lack of wit. It may be properly entitled, "The art of demolishing truth made easy to the meanest capacity." It is just as available for the parrot and the starling as it is for men who have been endowed with intellect, and five times out of six would be just as correctly employed. We seldom hear it, but we conclude that the party using it is desirous of concealing the scantiness of his furniture, and therefore cuts short all colloquy by slamming the door of his understanding in our face.

We wish, however, to discriminate between the few who use this phrase to strangle inquiry, and the much more considerable class who having had it buzzed in their ears with untiring pertinacity, have at last come to confound it with the legitimate decisions of their own reason. The preceding remarks are applicable and are intended to be applied only to the former. With the latter we are disposed to deal in a far different tone.

If the separation of church and state be "an abstract principle," what then is Christianity? Is this dark world to be regenerated by "a pure abstraction?" When Carey left his stall and went forth amidst the sneers of the philosophers of expediency to assail the towering structure of Brahminical superstition—when Williams, fired with a spirit of lofty enterprise, conceived the idea of visiting the remotest islands of the Pacific, and taming their rude inhabitants by "the foolishness of preaching"—when Luther deliberately resolved to snap the massive chains which bound his country to the foot of the papal throne—when Paul set out for Athens to level the simple truth of the gospel at that mythology which gigantic intellects had built up and entrenched—were they in pursuit of an abstraction or a solid reality? Is there anything so vague, anything so wild and visionary, anything so utterly impracticable, in replacing religion upon the pedestal upon which its Author first set it, that every serious attempt to effect the glorious work should be scouted without a moment's consideration, as a quixotic enterprise in search of an "abstract principle?" If so, then farewell Christianity! We had thought it was a reality—but if this be true, it is nothing more than "a pure abstraction."

It is not true! No! The application of the cant phrase in this direction is at once an aspersion on the character of the religion we profess and an insult to our understandings. The separation of church and state is an object not only intelligible to men who will give themselves the trouble to think, but to men of honest hearts

it is also practicable. That it is a work of difficulty we admit. That its accomplishment will require arduous labour, unshrinking self-sacrifice, indomitable resolution, great wisdom, and courage which only the love of truth can inspire, is sufficiently plain. But we have not yet learned to regard these qualities as extinct. We see them successfully engaged in coping with heathenism. It is the fortunate lot of the present generation to behold them shaking down to the dust far stronger holds of error than this same state-church. Is our aristocracy omnipotent? Have we not wrestled with them one throw, and measured their strength? And shall the men who can dare to assault delusion abroad, quail before a feeble type of it at home?

We beg our readers to look at the principle wrapped up in this unvarying use of the phrase in question. What does it mean? Nothing more nor less than this—that voluntary christianity is a good thing intrinsically, considered apart from all circumstances, but a very silly thing to be constituted a rule of conduct—very fine to look at, but exceedingly foolish to attempt. Here is the old doctrine of expediency dressed up in a new suit. It is just another way of saying that men are to gauge their duty by the line of probable success—that principles are given to amuse and not to govern us—that to see what is right argues a sound understanding, to strive in sincerity of heart to do it, is the plainest evidence of a fond and feeble mind. Never until this pernicious doctrine is deposed from authority, as well as those who uphold it, can any great and lasting good be looked for. Far different was the faith of our puritan forefathers. Results they left to Him who governs them. Right was their canon of practice. What prospects had they of success? Their way was dark—danger flashed across their path—before them was nothing visible but sufferings, tears, and blood—ruin yawned at their very feet. What was all this to them? Christianity bid them go forward—and forward they went through death to victory.

Are we now to be instructed by men who cannot comprehend the moral dignity of a great principle—who cannot appreciate the power of truth, that life is to be a series of shifts, and conduct, like a bark at the mercy of every gust, to be guided by no helm and to keep its head to no port? Where will these sailers-before-the-wind, these weather-trimmers and breeze-catchers land us? Anywhere we suspect, but on what they term "an abstract principle"—anywhere but on truth.

In justice to dissenting ministers we must say, that so far as our observation has extended, they have not, in terms at least, stigmatised the separation question as "a pure abstraction." They may have objected to certain times or certain modes of working out the voluntary principle. But to hold it up to ridicule as "abstract," has not been their mistake. Had they done so they might as well at once have abjured their vocation. To preach truth and then to unpreach it—to bid men look at its beauty and then caution them not to love it to excess—to exhort them to listen to its voice and whisper in their ear 'twere foolish to obey it—this they would have done had they professed dissent, and then branded the voluntary principle as "an abstract principle." They have been wiser and better men than this.

MR. W. BAINES AND THE DISSENTERS AT LEICESTER.

WITH extreme regret we see the present parliament about to dissolve, leaving Mr. W. Baines in gaol. An appeal is now to be made to electors, by those ministers who have justified his imprisonment. We know not what dissenters forming a portion of other constituencies may see fit to do; nor shall we presume to offer them advice. But the dissenters of Leicester owe much to themselves, and to their present position, which devolves upon them peculiar responsibility at this momentous crisis. Whether they can unite in supporting the present administration, and strain every nerve, as they have done once and again, to secure the return of ministerial members, when one of their own body is suffering the indignity of incarceration for his maintenance of the principles in which they exult—especially with the fact staring them full in the face, that Mr. Baine's conscientious assertion of the rights of conscience was sneeringly condemned by the present ministry—remains to be seen. An appeal to them for aid, whilst their respected fellow-townsmen is deprived of liberty and domestic comforts, seems to us to be an insult which their spirit can ill brook.

We have not heard what course they intend to pursue. But from all that we know of them, we feel satisfied it will be one worthy of

their high reputation. There is something due to self-respect, before even the claims of patriotism can be listened to with propriety. Whatever may be the question now agitating the country, and however confessedly important, no men can consent to degrade themselves in order to its promotion. Charity begins at home—and if the dissenting electors at Leicester can forget the noble-hearted sufferer who now lies immured in the county prison, and, passing by his wrongs, hail a government who has opposed his liberation, they are not the men we take them for. So long as Mr. Baines is where he is, we counsel them to keep aloof from those who sanction his persecution. They cannot consistently act with them. They are under obligation publicly to mark their sense of the insult done to them in his person. They have pledged themselves to leave no stone unturned to effect his deliverance. They have always proved themselves sincere and in earnest. We doubt not they will in the present instance. Not a vote should they record in favour of ministers whilst Leicester gaol holds William Baines.

THE DISSENTING PRISONER AND THE DISSENTING PRESS.

FROM notices that have appeared in the Congregational and Evangelical Magazines for last month, of a pamphlet entitled "Leicester Gaol," by A. Balance, Esq., we gather up the conclusion that this publication is to be attributed to the pen of the Rev. Thomas Binney, minister of the Weigh-house Chapel. We should be sorry to state anything which is not fact—sorry indeed to lay to Mr. Binney's charge unjustly a work which adds no lustre to his fame. But we speak out what several periodicals have already not obscurely intimated, in order that Mr. Binney may have a fair opportunity of publicly denying what as a mere rumour he could not notice.

There is this singularity about the treatment of Mr. Baines's case, that our dissenting publications—making honourable exception of the *Eclectic Review*, which spoke out when all around was silence, and of the *Christian Examiner*, which in four smart lines has uttered much and very pertinent truth—have uniformly displayed a far greater anxiety to save the character of our ministers and churches, than to uphold the doctrine which is thrust at through Mr. Baines's sides. The upshot of all that they affirm is just this—that, however conscientious the man may be, the dissenting community not only may, but ought to be indifferent.

Stripped of all sophistry, Mr. Baines is suffering in defence of the exclusive spiritual monarchy of Christ. What matter the little errors of judgment which his course may be imagined to exhibit? Is the truth he upholds nothing? Is he not separated from wife and little ones, from the domestic hearth and the benefits of the sanctuary, because he chooses practically to assert that truth? What if he does not pronounce his words according to the fashion set by modern divines, and persists in saying, Shibboleth, as though it were written Sibboleth?—cannot these gentlemen resent the affront offered to a very important truth in his person? Will they never be tired of picking out small inconsistencies of detail, (if such there be,) and blinking the weightier matters of the law, justice and mercy? And then, forsooth, they talk of exercising severity of judgment! of "being jealous of the honour of the sacred plea of conscience," and of not permitting a "generous enthusiasm to divert their attention from those points of the case which cold, worldly, statesmen, are likely to assail, as weak in argument, or loose in morals."

"The generous enthusiasm" we suspect is of recent date. We never heard of it till now. It was pent up with more than Spartan resolution.

"They never told their griefs,
But let concealment, like a worm i' the bud,
Prey on their damask cheek."

But we would respectfully intimate that a more anxious care to sympathise with "cold, worldly statesmen," than with suffering conscientiousness, will not be interpreted by them as jealousy "for the honour of the sacred plea," but is much more likely to provoke, what in fact it has provoked—a scornful exclamation implying that we are all hypocrites together.

Once again, we deeply regret the course taken by leading men among us on this question. It appears to us to indicate a greater concern for the maintenance of denominational etiquette, than of great fundamental principles. Who applauds Mr. Baines for his earnest love of a scriptural truth? Who has expressed his admiration of the intense attachment to the prime principle of dissent which can set at nought imprisonment itself? Who has been anxious to explain, that the truth for which Mr. Baines suffers is a truth identical with that on which Dr. Wardlaw lectured with the full approbation of dissenting ministers, and which they themselves insist upon with solemn emphasis at every ordination? Why does his imprisonment give birth to nothing but evils? Why should his conscience be doubted? What is there in the cause to which he has, in all religious earnestness, devoted himself, that it should require the victim to be hunted down by friends as well as foes? Excessive anxiety to maintain external correctness is not always the best mode of establishing a claim to purity of heart. Men who are conscious of having gone wrong, are often more sensitive about any imputation of unsound judgment, than men fully convinced that they are right. Mr. Baines is not half so sore as are his assailants.

Mr. William Baines remains a prisoner in the county gaol at Leicester, where he has been confined upwards of TWENTY-NINE WEEKS for declining to pay at the bidding of the Archbishop of Canterbury's court, the sum of 24.6s. church-rates, and 125l. 3s. costs.

CHURCH RATES—PUBLIC MEETING AT HACKNEY.

Within the last two months, upwards of 1000 persons in the parish of St. John, Hackney, have been summoned before the magistrates for non-payment of church-rates; and several of these having disputed the validity of the rate have, of course, got within the grasp of the ecclesiastical monster called a court christian. To test the feeling of the parish upon this question, a public meeting was held last Friday night, at the Mermaid, Hackney, to petition for the abolition of church-rates and ecclesiastical courts, and to adopt measures to assist the victims of church-rate persecution, when the most enthusiastic determination was evinced by all present. The room was crowded and the gallery filled with ladies, on the platform were, the Rev. Drs. Cox, and Pye Smith, Rev. Messrs. A. Wells, J. Carlisle, and Wilson, Messrs. Offar, Howe, Oldham, Barrett, Sewell, &c.

JOHN REMMINGTON MILLS, Esq., took the chair, and observed that his opinion upon the question of church-rates was well known. Church-rates were objectionable, as well from their inequality as their abuse. Manchester, Leeds, and Leicester, with the exception of one parish, were exempted from church-rates, while small districts were burdened with them [hear, hear]. It was silly to suppose that the abolition of church-rates would denationalize the church. The church of England was the church of England and Ireland. Yet in Ireland church-rates had been abolished, and the established church there was supported by its own property. In Scotland there were no church-rates. Why, then, should they exist in England [hear, hear]?

DR. PYE SMITH moved a resolution to the effect that it was opposed to reason and justice to require persons to support any religious institution from which they conscientiously dissented, and that such injustice was aggravated by the harsh, cruel, and ruinous method by which those who objected to that support were coerced. He was convinced that it was opposed to the Christian religion to take from men their property and their liberty, because they refused to support a church in which they did not believe [hear, hear]. Religion was the result of conviction—of serious, solemn inquiry. It was absurd to attempt to turn man against such a conviction by threats, compulsion, or imprisonment. There was much said about church principles. He would be glad to be informed what was meant by church principles [hear, hear]. Do they authorise compulsory payments and coercion [hear, hear]? Were they means by which St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. James were supported? Who ever hesitated to take assistance from their friends, lest their motives might be deemed mercenary [hear, hear]? How opposite the mode of support at the present day, when for 5s. church-rates, ruin and imprisonment were entailed upon the unfortunate recusants! He thanked his God that he belonged to a church which stood upon a different foundation—which sought no such assistance, which had Jesus Christ for its corner stone [hear, hear].

JAMES YOUNG, Esq., seconded the motion, and it was unanimously adopted.

The Rev. Dr. Cox moved a resolution to the effect, "That the parishioners heard with surprise that the parish authorities, for a few shillings church-rates, had adopted such measures as entailed upon the parishioners hundreds of pounds expenses, and threatened them with destruction and the loss of liberty." He was for everything voluntary in religion. He was not the supporter of a faction [hear, hear]. The question of church-rates was only part of a large question, which involved the interests of religion and society. It was said that they wanted to pull down the church. He asked what church? Did they mean that they aimed a blow at the ecclesiastical system, or at the alliance between church and state [hear, hear, hear]? Look to the country where there was no alliance between church and state. He referred to America. In no part of the world were there more churches, or more attentive congregations. It was said that the church was in danger. He admitted it was; but it was in danger for three reasons: Firstly, from the spirit of its friends—secondly, from the injustice it practises—and, thirdly, from the progress of knowledge [hear, hear]. The declaration of the great founder of religion, that his kingdom was not of this world, was in the minds of all Christians, who never could suppose that he would send Peter or John on an errand to seize the property of those who were not their followers, because they would not support them [hear, hear]. The reverend speaker, after an able expose of the cruel and oppressive operations of church-rates, called upon the people to pledge the candidates at the coming election to resist church-rates and the continuance of ecclesiastical courts. Dr. Cox concluded amidst loud and continued cheering.

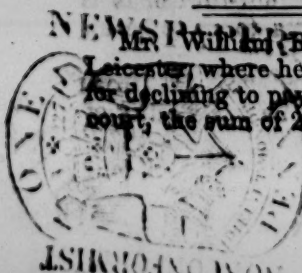
THOMAS RICHARDSON, Esq., seconded the motion.

The Rev. Mr. Carlisle, Mr. Offar, Mr. Oldham, Mr. Searle, and other influential parishioners addressed the meeting, and moved resolutions pledging the meeting to support the Anti Church-rate Association of Hackney, and to aid with money and otherwise the church-rate martyrs of that parish. In consequence of the approaching dissolution of parliament the intended petition against church-rates and ecclesiastical courts was postponed.

Thanks having been voted to the chairman the meeting separated.

A correspondent of the *Bedford Mercury* calls upon the dissenters of all places to unite together as one man, and ask the candidates how they mean to vote in the House of Commons, providing they are returned, upon the subject of church-rates, before they promise their votes to any candidate, whether he be whig or tory; as it is quite time that dissenters were relieved from this unjust and unscriptural tax, and not any longer liable to be dragged before magistrates, or cited to the Ecclesiastical Court, or thrown into prison, for refusing to pay the said impost.

Two seizures for church-rates, upon members of the society of friends, were made a few days since at Leiston, near Norwich. From Mrs. E. Sawyer a ton of coals value 25s. was taken for a rate of sevenpence and expenses amounting to 24s. From Mr. S. Sawyer a quantity of candles and lard value 11. 7s. 10½d., were taken for a rate of sixpence and expenses amounting to 23s. In one instance, it will be seen the expenses are, 4214 per cent., and in the other, 4600 per cent, upon the rate demanded; and in the latter case the surplus returned is nearly nine times the amount of the original claim.



Several parishioners of St. George's, Norwich, were lately cited before Archdeacon Bathurst, in the Archdeaconry Court, and served with a "monition" to call a meeting of the parishioners, to repair the church, and in case of opposition to give the christian and surnames of such parties to the surrogate by the 10th of June. Pursuant to this monition the churchwardens, Mr. C. C. Daniels and Mr. J. J. Sharpe, summoned a vestry for Thursday last; J. Bateman, Esq., was voted to the chair. Mr. Churchwarden Daniels said that the sum required amounted to between 30*l.* and 40*l.*; and to raise such a sum he would move a rate of 15*d.* in the pound. Mr. Churchwarden Sharpe seconded the proposition. John Francis, Esq., moved an adjournment for six months, and Mr. Samuel Francis seconded the proposition, which was carried by a very large majority of hands. Mr. Stannard demanded "a poll of the parish," as that alone would enable the churchwardens to hand in to the surrogate the names of those opposed to the rate. Mr. Robert Banks proposed that the votes should be taken by ballot, which was carried by 36 to 15. The poll was kept open till five o'clock, and at its close there appeared for the rate 29, against it 62, being a majority of 33 against the rate. It was then found that only 86 persons had voted, though there were 91 balls in the two boxes. On a scrutiny, it appeared that although there were but 24 individuals in favour of the rate, they had 29 balls in their box! Mr. Francis hoped that all difficulties might be got over by a voluntary subscription. He would readily give his sovereign. Many others of the dissenters also expressed their willingness to subscribe, but the churchmen declared they would have a rate or nothing. On the motion of Mr. J. Riches, seconded by Mr. R. W. Sexton, a petition to the House of Commons against church-rates was carried, with but five dissentient voices.

The churchwarden of St. Helens, Worcester, last week, summoned Mr. N. Miles and Mr. H. Whiting, for refusal to pay church-rates. Both declined paying the rates from conscientious scruples, and the usual orders were issued. Robert Poynter, hairdresser, also refused to pay a rate of 2*s.* 10*d.*, on the ground that the notice was not given in the usual manner, that the rate was retrospective, and that it was partial, oppressive, and unjust. The magistrate, believing that he had a *bona fide* intention to carry the matter elsewhere, declined to go further into the case. Mr. William Price, shoemaker, was summoned for a rate of 8*s.* 4*d.* He first objected to the summons, but was stopped by the bench. He then said he considered that he was sued retrospectively, and the rate was retrospective. Both of these objections being overruled, he paid the rate, with 5*s.* 6*d.* expenses.

In the Consistory Court, on Thursday last, Dr. Nicholl applied for a monition to the churchwardens and parishioners of Braintree, Essex, calling upon them to show cause why they should not assemble in vestry and make a rate for the repairs of the parish church, and other law expenses. The learned advocate stated that no rate had been made in the parish since 1834, every motion made in vestry for that object having been met by a motion for an adjournment. Dr. Nicholl cited the Headcorne case from 10, *Monthly Law Magazine*, 266, in which the Dean of the Arches had granted a monition under similar circumstances. Dr. Lushington said he had not been aware of such a case, and would look into it. As it was of great importance that the proceedings in these cases should be regular, he would reserve his decision till the next court-day.

On Friday last, a meeting of the rate-payers of the parish of St. Mary Abbots, Kensington, was held in the vestry room of the old church, for the purpose of passing the accounts of the churchwardens for the past year, and for making a church-rate for the present year. The vicar, Archdeacon Pott, took the chair. The accounts having been produced Mr. Rymell, as resident of the Brompton district of Kensington (in which a new church was erected about fourteen years since), objected to all the items that did not relate to the maintaining and repairs of the building of the old church, on the ground that in the previous year the vestry having refused to grant any funds towards supporting the salaries of the necessary officers of Brompton church, the inhabitants of that district ought not in justice and equity to be called upon to pay towards anything relating to the old church, except to its maintenance and repairs. A lengthened discussion then ensued on the subject, and ultimately the accounts were proceeded with under protest. On coming to those relating to St. Barnabas episcopal chapel, in Addison-road, Mr. Hawkes declared that on the same principle that Brompton had been refused, the items relating to St. Barnabas chapel were not legal, and moved that those accounts be not passed; which, being seconded by Mr. Day, was put to the vote and carried by a majority of one. Mr. Churchwarden Caesterton then demanded a poll under the provision of the 58th and 59th of George the Third, which was appointed to be taken on Saturday, Monday, and Tuesday. Mr. Hawkes then moved that the meeting do adjourn until Friday next, to receive a report of the result of the poll, and to proceed with the remainder of the business, which was carried, and the meeting broke up.

On Sunday week the newly-appointed bishop of Sodor and Man (Dr. Short) was consecrated at Her Majesty's Chapel Royal, Whitehall. The Right Hon. Sir Robert Peel, and a great number of the nobility, who usually attend the chapel, were present.

COPY OF A LETTER ADDRESSED BY GEORGE OFFOR, ESQ., A MAGISTRATE OF HACKNEY, TO MESSRS. WILLIAM VARTY AND ROBERT MOPSEY, CHURCHWARDENS OF THE PARISH OF ST. JOHN, HACKNEY.

GENTLEMEN,—With the most painful emotions I heard that, after many threats, you have commenced the church-rate war in this parish, with all its desolating consequences. The demon of persecution is let loose to terrify the quiet, peaceful, and pious dissenters, and, if possible, to compel them to maintain your establishments and mode of worship. They regard all attempts by human laws to coerce, govern, or direct the conscience, to be treason against God, opposed to the Christian dispensation, and injurious to the best interests of man. Your attempt to force the consciences of your fellow parishioners is as insane a task as it would be to make them uniform in stature, size, complexion, and features: it will only excite the contempt of the wise and the pity of the good. The amount of this obnoxious, illegal, and disgraceful rate which you have proceeded to the ecclesiastical court to recover, is, as I am told, less than 2*l.*, and the litigation may involve costs to the amount of several thousand pounds,—injurious, nay ruinous, not only to those whom you have cited, but probably to yourselves. Your determination to try all these cases, and refusal to abide by the decision of any one you would select, reminds me of a bishop, who in the days of Mary, having condemned a number of pious Christians to the flames, a

nobleman begged that one only should be burnt, as an example to the others. "No," said the merciless bishop, "I will burn them all!" This bishop soon after died of a loathsome disease, and appeared before the eternal judge, who when on earth said, "With what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged; and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again."

Surely nothing but the spirit of discord could have induced others to persuade and urge you, who are eminently peaceful and estimable neighbours, to such a course, at a period when the House of Commons has denounced this mode of taxation, and the whole nation are ardently anticipating an end to such a prolific source of confusion and misery. Can you believe the heavenly anthem, that "Glory to God in the highest" is essentially connected with "Peace on earth and good-will towards men?"

The history of the Christian church clearly shows that yours is no novel proceeding. There have been in every age state religions, and when the state arms one sect with power to injure and harass every other sect of the Christian church, there must from such a system arise persecution. The divine founder of our religion dissented from and rebuked the pride, pomp, and hypocrisy of the state-religionists of his time. He declared that his kingdom was not of this world, but a spiritual dominion; and they crucified him. Since then, they have sought to destroy his followers in every age. We have now one strong consolation, that if you should be permitted by litigation to injure the property, distract the families, and imprison the persons of your fellow-men, you cannot add to such crimes the torture of their bodies or the taking of their lives with those refined cruelties practised in past ages. One thing is certain, that while the Almighty protects and blesses the persecuted who put their trust in him, the persecutor has always brought guilt upon his conscience, and very generally his head has descended with sorrow to a gloomy tomb.

The same power which you think has authorised your sect to vex the Christian church, showers down unearned wealth and honours upon those priests who submit to and teach the domination of man over conscience. It is a source of hypocrisy as fruitful as it is frightful: upon some occasions the mask has been strangely withdrawn. In twenty years, from 1540 to 1560, hypocrisy was openly displayed; about ninety-seven out of every hundred clergymen swore by order of Henry VIII., that he, and not the pope, was head of the church, and went back to popery with that vacillating monarch. By order of his son, Edward VI., they became sworn protestants; and by order of his sister Mary, unsware themselves, and again swore allegiance to the pope. Elizabeth dictated, and they abandoned the pope and swore themselves to be protestants again. We proverbially speak of the vicar of Bray, but at the same period there were nearly ten thousand similar instances of conformity to the mandate of the sovereign in the choice of religion, in defiance of oaths and conscience. In fact, you cannot entertain a doubt but that the great mass of those who now follow the religion of the state would at once worship the pope or Jehovah, Moses or Jesus, at the bidding of those who have wealth and honours at their disposal. There are doubtless some who, alarmed for their eternal happiness, have examined the Bible for themselves, and have determined to attempt the way to heaven in company with the sect called episcopalians. Allow me to hope that you, gentlemen, are among the number of those who are attached to the forms and ceremonies of the state-religion, after that mature inquiry which the solemn importance of the subject requires. If so, you are now urged to act under a mistaken sense of duty, as much as the conscientious papists of a former age, when they with fire and faggot bitterly persecuted the church of Christ.

You probably are told that the law requires a church rate to be made; but it is not so. The law gives you the power to call a voluntary meeting of the vestry, and it then authorizes them voluntarily to order or refuse a church-rate. In many parishes, churchmen have united with dissenters and have refused such rate, because it is a violation of Christian liberty; and the episcopalians have, to their honour, followed the example of the Christian church of every other sect, and by voluntary contributions have supported their own mode of worship. You may falsely imagine that, if you obtain a majority in vestry, you may make a rate not only for the repair of the church, but for any other purpose you may connect with your services, however pompous. Your splendid altar-covering, gold-laced liveries, elegant surplices, organ, organist, ornamental silver staffs, service of plate, velvet cushions and hangings, wine, &c. &c.—for these things you tax, among others, the poor, many of whom, with their families, are struggling with want. When you look round upon your church elegancies, you must blush to think that to support this pomp you took from many a poor man that which ought to have supplied his children with food, and that Michael Joel, a poor Jew clothesman, with five little children, was summoned for 2*s.* 8*d.* to assist in decorating a Christian church.

The common argument to defend church-rate is, that every man when he took his house knew that it was chargeable in its proportion to the maintenance of the church service: but this is evidently untrue. My house is not chargeable, but I may be taxed, if the churchwardens choose to call a vestry to sanction a rate, and if the vestry by a majority voluntarily agree to such a rate, and if the churchwardens make such rate legally and for legal purposes, and if they enforce the payment at the risk of serious litigations and heart-burnings for thus infringing upon my religious liberty. It is a personal tax, and ought to be made upon an act according to the ability of those who profit by the services. I ask you, would you deem it right that your rector should have his house entered and his goods seized to compel him to maintain a Roman catholic or Unitarian church, or a Jewish synagogue? If not, then I require you to do unto others as you would that others should do unto you.

In conclusion, let me lead you to the presence of the Saviour, and hear the instructions which he gave upon this important subject. Certain gentlemen belonging to the religion as then by law established, called Pharisees, came craftily to Jesus, and reminded him of his heavenly commission to teach the way of God in truth, asked him whether it was lawful to pay tribute to Cæsar or not. He, pointing to the image of Cæsar upon the coin, said, "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's." Mark well the infinite wisdom of this distinction! Cæsar for temporal protection can righteously compel you by law to render his coin, but God for providential and spiritual blessings requires the voluntary homage of the heart and will, and abhors a compulsive service. It is equally treason against God to submit the conscience to temporal rulers, as it is treason against the government of your country to refuse tribute for temporal benefits. In civil affairs, I submit instantly and unconditionally to human authority; but in religion, I utterly defy such authority. Which is right, to obey God or man? In the matter of church-rate, I cannot obey both, because, in it the law of God is opposed by the law of man. To which shall I do homage? Judge ye.

It will be honourable to you to support your own mode of worship at your own expense. We dissenters ever have done so, and until you let us alone, it will be criminal for us to rest. Disgrace will cleave to that dissenter who now shrinks from his duty. Time is fast sweeping us on to eternity; the silent grave will soon close upon us; may you and I at the judgment-seat render our account with the joy of those who have suffered persecution for conscience' sake, and not with the soul-rending anguish of the persecutor.

I am, Gentlemen, your hearty well-wisher,
Grove-street, Hackney, May, 1841.
GEORGE OFFOR.

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

PETITIONS FOR THE WEEK.

Church Rates, for abolition of, 12.—From Denbigh, Llangadock, Fetter lane, Southill, Thurlough, Bedford (two petitions), Cotten-end chapel, Riseley, Birmingham, Romney street (Westminster), and Livery street (Birmingham),
 Church Extension, for, 87; against, 1.
 Church Patronage (Scotland), abolition of, 47.
 Lord's Day, better observance of, 3.
 Maynooth College, against further grant, 5.
 Roman Catholic Relief Act, repeal of, 2.
 Corn Laws, for repeal of, 500; against, 575.
 ——— for proposed measure, 23; against, 956.
 Import Duties, for proposed measures, 185; against, 64.
 Timber Duties, against proposed measure, 5.
 Inland Warehousing Bill, against, 1.
 Poor Law Amendment Bill, for, 1; against, 1.
 Buildings Regulation Bill, for, 1; against, 4.
 Boroughs Improvement Bill, for, 1.
 For Dismissal of the Ministers, 2.
 County Courts Bill, for, 3;
 Slavery (East Indies) for abolition of, 1.
 Political Offenders, for release of, 4.
 Universal Suffrage, for, 6.
 Municipal Corporations Bill, against, 2.
 Registration of Voters (England) Bill, against, 1.
 ——— (Ireland) ——— against, 7.
 Parliamentary Voters (Ireland) Bill, for, 7.
 Banking (Scotland) against alteration, 2.
 Royal Burghs (Scotland) Bill, for, 1; against, 1.

PUBLIC BUSINESS TRANSACTED.

BILLS PRESENTED, AND READ A FIRST TIME.

1. Ecclesiastical Commissions Bill.
2. Bribery at Elections Bill.
3. New South Wales, &c. Bill.
4. Western Australia Bill.
5. Banks of Issue Bill.
6. Debts of Parishes Bill.

BILLS READ A SECOND TIME.

1. Municipal Corporations Bill.
2. Tithe Composition (Ireland) Bill.
3. Houses of Industry (Ireland) Bill.
4. Ecclesiastical Commissioners Bill.
5. Bribery at Elections Bill.
6. New South Wales, &c. Bill.
7. Western Australia Bill.
8. Dean Forest Bill.

CONSIDERED IN COMMITTEE.

1. Frivolous Suits Bill.
2. Sugar Duties Bill.
3. Punishment of Death Bill.
4. Tithe Composition (Ireland) Bill.
5. Parish Constables Bill.
6. Supply—Miscellaneous Estimates.
7. Municipal Corporations Bill.
8. Houses of Industry (Ireland) Bill.
9. School Sites (No. 2) Bill.
10. Clerk of the Peace (Lancaster) Bill.
11. Metropolis Improvements Bill.

BILLS READ A THIRD TIME, AND PASSED.

1. Ordnance Survey Bill.
2. Militia Ballots Suspension Bill.
3. Copyhold and Customary Tenure Bill.
4. Assessed Taxes Compositions Bill.
5. Frivolous Suits Bill.
6. Punishment of Death Bill.
7. Sugar Duties Bill.
8. Tithe Composition (Ireland) Bill.

DEBATES.

Wednesday, June 2.

ADJOURNED DEBATE ON WANT OF CONFIDENCE IN MINISTERS.

Sergeant TALFOURD resumed the adjourned debate, and commenced by retorting upon Sir J. Graham some of the invectives which that right honourable baronet poured out so freely upon Ministers on Friday evening. The learned sergeant went on to show that, in a reformed Parliament, the large majorities must not be looked for by which former governments were supported, and Sir Robert Peel himself might not be long in office before he would be obliged to seek assistance from his opponents against the impetuosity of his tory supporters, or against the designs of his new admirers, the chartists. Sergeant Talfourd passed in review the ministerial measures on which Sir J. Graham had commented with so much bitterness. The liberals, it was true, must assume the whole responsibility of the postage reduction, but there was another measure that was all their own, to which the right honourable baronet had made no allusion, and that was the abolition of imprisonment for debt on mesne process. The learned sergeant here paid some handsome and appropriate compliments to the Attorney-General. They were now placed in a financial difficulty, into the cause of which it was not then material for him to inquire [ironical cheers from the tory benches]; but which originated in causes of a less recent date than the last two or three years, for it originated in a period of tory misrule and domination. The exigency, however, was not to be denied, and a remedy must be supplied. Ministers might be wrong in relieving instead of adding to the burdens of the people; but if they were wrong, those who condemned their proposals were bound to suggest other appliances.

Mr. H. HINDE supported the motion, chiefly on the ground that there was no security, after the measures now before parliament were passed, that ministers would not make even further concessions to the popular party. He would not describe them as being intentionally vicious; but, to say the least of them, they were a ministry of very easy virtue.

Mr. GILLON congratulated himself on having an opportunity to record his vote in behalf of a Government, who had done, in his opinion, so much good to their country, particularly by beating down the strong holds of corruption. He expressed his satisfaction with the ministerial measures of finance, describing them as though they went to the complete abolition of all monopolies.

Could any one wonder—when her Majesty's government came forward with these, with the magnificent proposals to mete out equal justice to all, to uproot monopoly from the land, and put an end to class legislation—could any one wonder, when such measures were proposed, that those who had so long been feeding on the resources of the country, and who were anxious only for the promotion of their own selfish interests, caring nothing for the sufferings of the people, should show themselves in most violent and virulent opposition to that government, and seek by all their energies to drive ministers from office? He felt confidence in those ministers, because the measures they now proposed were based upon the great and incontrovertible principles of free

trade; and because he was assured that those same principles that were now about to be applied to corn, sugar, and timber, would ultimately be adopted with respect to all the other branches of our commerce and manufactures. He rejoiced to find that the great commercial and manufacturing interests subscribe to these doctrines, and were willing to throw monopoly to the winds. How could he, as a landowner, refuse to give his assent to so just a course? Without entering into details, he would merely say that with respect to the trade in corn, he had always been favourable to the principle of a fixed duty, and therefore, to what was now proposed he was willing to give his adhesion. By putting an end to the gambling system of averages, by securing a greater steadiness of price and certainty of market to the farmer, he believed that the proposition of a fixed duty, taken even as a single measure, would be beneficial to the agriculturists, but in combination with the other contemplated measures, he was certain that great and beneficial results would ensue, which the human mind could hardly anticipate. He, however, conceived that even those measures would be incomplete without the imposition of a property tax. Effectual relief could alone be given to the industry of the country by such a tax.

Mr. JAMES GRATTAN also placed confidence in her Majesty's ministers; and whether he looked to China, to the whole of their foreign policy, to the colonies, or to Ireland, he thought their whole conduct entitled them to the confidence and thanks of the house. He did not ground his confidence, however, on their most recent proposals, for he thought those proposals dangerous to the welfare of Ireland. With a fixed duty on corn, the whole Irish trade in food must be transferred to the continent. But he laid the blame rather on Lord Stanley, who, by the impetuosity with which he had pushed on his scheme of Irish registration, had driven ministers to these measures.

Lord CLAUDE HAMILTON did justice to the great talents and firmness of Lord Palmerston in his foreign policy; on particular points of which, however, he made several strictures. He denied the applicability of the precedents set by Mr. Pitt in 1784, and by Sir R. Peel in 1835. The majorities against the present ministers were very different from those which opposed Mr. Pitt and Sir R. Peel; for the recent majorities had been gradually growing—constantly increasing—for a number of years. The present budget was brought forward under most suspicious circumstances. For six years these ministers had been in possession of office, and yet during that whole time not a hint had they given of these measures; but now, defeated on the Irish Registration Bill, they were become the sudden advocates of free trade. They were, it seems, to obtain on this question the vote of Lord Worsley, who a fortnight ago had declared against them; but a vote thus obtained from a member in direct opposition to the known sense of his constituents, would not bring much solid support to the government. A deficiency was now admitted to exist; and the best way to deal with it was to deal with those who had caused it.

Sir GEORGE STAUNTON justified the proceedings of government towards China. He did not think Napoleon a very high authority on Chinese affairs. The Duke of Wellington's opinions on such a subject would meet with more respect from both sides of the House, and the noble Duke had acquitted ministers of all blame with respect to the war with China. With the events that had followed the capture of Chusan he was certainly not satisfied; but he was also not surprised; for he had from the first anticipated that the contest would be a tedious one. There was not a doubt that the divisions in that House had operated on the minds of the Chinese government, and perhaps had not been without some influence on our own negotiators. In the hands of Sir Henry Pottinger he felt satisfied the interests of the country might be safely reposed. The hon. baronet eulogised the financial measures of the government, and on those measures, even if he were opposed to them, he should still think ministers constitutionally entitled to appeal to the country. If the people chose to hug their own chains, the ministry must of course retire.

Sir WALTER JAMES contrasted the conduct of Sir James Graham in leaving the government at a great sacrifice to himself, with the conduct of Lord Worsley and other members ashamed to withdraw from a party which yet they condemned. From a short retrospect of the Melbourne administration he showed that the whigs, though they had last year got a vote of confidence, had for a long time wanted the reality of it. Lord John Russell, in his address to the electors of Stroud a couple of years ago, had reprobated any fresh excitement, and said he would not stir the caldron from which a new and potent charm might be extracted. No; the noble Lord would not stir the caldron, but he would put plenty of hot coals under it. But the whigs had not long to last; the contest would be between the two great parties who now nearly divided the country; and he was persuaded that the victory would be with the friends of the constitution, the church, and the monarchy. The whigs had the confidence of no class of the country, except perhaps of those manufacturers who hoped to grow suddenly rich by lowering the wages of their workmen under cover of cheap bread. But the eyes of the labourer were now open, and they were aware that the real meaning of the phrase "cheap bread" was "low wages."

Mr. WALLACE said that if, at the last general election, the Queen's name had been put forward by the liberal party, it was only in admiration of that solicitude which her Majesty was believed to entertain, to see equal justice done to all her subjects. On the other hand, the Queen's name had by the tory party been coupled with abuse [loud cries of "no, no"]. He would say "Yes, yes." The interests of the people, he would maintain, were promoted by agitation, and he gave ministers great credit for the opportunity they had afforded the people of entering on a struggle to relieve themselves from the oppression of the landed interest. Their new measures were beheld by him with delight; and as to their sincerity in proposing such a budget, that was a matter he would not inquire into. Their post-office measure had certainly disappointed the hope that it would be a great means of circulating advertisements; but it had occasioned a great increase of manuscript correspondence, which it had more than trebled.

Mr. CRESWELL professed himself willing to give credit to ministers for sincerity in their resolution about the Irish appropriation; because, if they were not, they obtained office by false pretences. But if they were really sincere in that resolution—if they thought the measure asserted by it indispensable to the good of the country—why had they not acted upon it for six years? Why, because they could not act upon it—because they had not had the confidence of the House. So it had been with the questions of church-rate, of education, of the Jamaica Assembly. On the last occasion they confessed that they did not possess that confidence. Then came Sir J. Buller's motion, and a majority of 21 refused to declare that the ministry did not possess the confidence of the House; but immediately afterwards that

confidence was practically negated, on the grant to Prince Albert, again on the finance motion of Mr. Herries, and again on the pension of Sir John Newport, by majorities successively denying the economy, the wisdom, the integrity of this government. The session of 1840 was the first year of Lord Stanley's bill, the fertile source of more defeats to them. But delay threw it over to the present year, and now we had had a bill on the same subject from the government, Lord John showing himself ready by the 5l. franchise again "to stir the caldron, and evoke the potent charm in Ireland." And lastly, there was this budget, with its excitement—an excitement arising not from confidence in Lord John's moderate fixed duty, but from a belief on the part of the enemies of all protection that they would be able to extort its total abolition out of his weakness. The learned member then read an extract from a liberal newspaper, describing the virulence of the late meeting at Stroud. Was it for the sake of affording the like opportunity to other democracies, that the ministers still postponed the dissolution of parliament? Other ministries had been distinguished by epithets more or less characteristic; the whigs would probably be known for ever by Mr. Wakley's designation of them as the squeezable government.

Dr. LUSHINGTON, though he wished to be understood as re-affirming all he had said in the debate on the sugar duties, yet declared himself resolved to support the ministers on this occasion, in common with Mr. Bing, Mr. Denison, and other old whigs. It was not from Sir Robert Peel, or from those (Lord Stanley and Sir James Graham) who had deserted their friends, that he (Dr. Lushington) was disposed to accept a definition of what the principles of Mr. Fox and Lord Grey were. He denied that Sir R. Peel had made out a case that ministers were bound to resign without an appeal to the country. In each of the instances quoted by the right hon. baronet there was a moral impossibility for the minister of the day to dissolve parliament. When Sir R. Walpole and Sir R. Peel resigned, they both did so immediately after a general election. The present parliament had sat four years, during which period many important measures had been brought forward by the government, some of which had failed, while some had been carried; and he maintained, under such circumstances, that a dissolution of parliament was in harmony with all the principles of the constitution. He denied that a member who differed with government on one or two measures, was, therefore, bound to join with those from whom he differed on every other point. Ireland was at present governed according to the wishes of the vast majority of its inhabitants. If Sir Robert Peel came into power, he would not be allowed to follow his own judgment with respect to Ireland, but would be obliged to govern that country by means of the remnant of a party, under whose authority the prosperity and comparative tranquillity that now prevailed there, must be interrupted. There was another subject connected with our domestic policy—the education of the people—to which he attached the highest importance, but which he never would consent to place in the hands of any exclusive party. The labouring population had endured the most severe sufferings with a patience that entitled them to the gratitude of all classes; but there was a term to all endurance, and when they spoke with determination, it would be found impossible to refuse to do them justice. This was probably the last time he should have an opportunity of addressing the house; but he hoped, opposed as he had always been to a large political party in that house, he should not leave a personal enemy behind him [loud cheers].

Sir W. FOLLETT asked why Dr. Lushington, in citing the names of old whigs who adhered to the ministry, had not vouched that of Earl Grey—was it not that the noble Earl, the head of the party, condemned the conduct of that ministry? He admitted that ministers had a right to dissolve; but not a right to remain in office without dissolving, in order to moot a question upon the food of the people, which they admitted they had no expectation of carrying, but which they stirred for the mere purpose of excitement. It was precisely to avoid such excitement that ministers had thrown aside the Poor Law Amendment Bill; but then the poor law excitement would have been injurious to their party interests, which, on the contrary, they thought the corn law excitement would promote. He condemned the democratical language employed by Mr. Macaulay, as tending to array one class of society against another. The people, he believed, would not willingly lend themselves to such an agitation for the purpose of keeping the ministers in place. Those ministers had never been able, since their Jamaica Bill of 1839, to carry any legislative measure without the concurrence of the opposition. The precedents relied on had no bearing upon a ministry which lay under a continued and permanent inability to carry any legislative measure whatever. There might be extreme cases, in which a minister might retain office for a while against a majority of the House of Commons; but such a struggle could not be protracted long without serious danger to the Crown: and it must be a struggle for a great principle. But what was the great principle upon which those ministers had been remaining for the last two years in office? Certainly not the repeal of corn laws and other protections, for of this the country had never heard till a month ago. Sir R. Peel, when in office, though he had with him the Crown, a great majority of the House of Lords, and a powerful party in the House of Commons, yet tendered his resignation on the first check which he encountered upon a legislative measure. The whigs themselves, too, had resigned upon the Jamaica Bill; whether they were justified in immediately resuming office he would not now inquire; but if that step were justifiable as an experiment, at all events its result had most signally failed. Then came their concession on that ballot, which theretofore they had so earnestly opposed; but they had become weaker, and so gave way. Lord Melbourne, the head of the government, had declared last June that none but a madman would attempt a certain specific change in the corn law, yet that very change Lord Melbourne's government now proposed to make. Lord Melbourne had said it could not be made without stirring society to its very foundations; yet this stir they were now hazarding, confessedly without a hope of carrying their plan, or of raising from it any income that could meet the financial deficiency. Such was the great public principle on which they were retaining office.

Sir G. GREY quoted the words in which the dissolution in 1831 had been attacked by the tory party of that day; and when he found that dissolution so warmly applauded now by Sir J. Graham, and that ap-

plause so loudly cheered by those around him, he (Sir G. Grey) could not but hope that ten years hence Sir J. Graham would appeal with equal satisfaction to a dissolution under existing circumstances. He could understand the objection to such meetings as that at Stroud, where chartists came in aid of conservatives, but not the objection to a regular and dignified discussion of the corn-laws in the House of Commons, unless on the ground that such a discussion might be inconvenient to gentlemen opposite. The question being merely whether the dissolution should take place before or after a discussion on the corn-laws, he believed that the public in general would expect that a discussion of the corn-law should precede a dissolution. He wished for some comparison between the claims of the two parties to power. Sir R. Peel had told them nothing of his intention respecting the corn-laws, farther than that he was for a sliding scale, and opposed to a fixed duty; but a sliding scale might amount to complete prohibition, or it might remove protection altogether. Was not the country entitled, before it transferred its confidence from one government to another, to know something more distinct respecting the right hon. baronet's views? The only important measure that had originated on the opposite side was Lord Stanley's Irish registration bill, and that was certainly not calculated to induce the Irish to transfer their confidence to the advocates of that bill. The spirit of the party towards Ireland was shown even by Sir William Follett's allusion to the preponderance of English members on one side, and Irish members on the other. He justified the conduct of government in abandoning the poor-law amendment bill, which, if persevered in, must have put off to a distant period that dissolution for which hon. gentlemen opposite were now so eager.

Mr. HANDLEY could not let the debate close without offering a few observations in his own justification, more particularly after the lecture on consistency that had, with so much modest assurance, been addressed to him and Lord Worsley—a lecture that certainly came with a singular grace from Sir J. Graham! He (Mr. Handley) had opposed government on the corn-laws and sugar duties, but he was not, therefore, going to withdraw his confidence from the government. His constituents might, in consequence of such conduct, withdraw their confidence from him, but if they did so, they would dismiss him for having remained faithful to his principles, whereas the yeomen of Cumberland kicked Sir James Graham out of their county for having been false to his.

Now, inasmuch as the sugar duties was the only question upon which government had suffered a defeat in which he had assisted—inasmuch as going back to the appropriation clause, and the right hon. baronet had good reason for not anti-dating his resolution, as it might be extremely inconvenient to the noble lord, the member for North Lancashire, and the right hon. baronet the member for Pembroke (hear, hear)—inasmuch as the sugar question was the only one upon which hitherto he had voted against the government. Parliament not having expressed, as yet, any opinion upon the corn-laws, or upon the timber duties, he felt more inclined to take the right hon. baronet's counsel rather as a warning than as an example; he felt more inclined to follow his doctrine than to imitate his example; and he had the satisfaction of finding that the right hon. baronet afforded a fertile source of precepts to all those who undertook the labour of going through his speeches, for there one would find a precedent and an argument for any opinion one might choose to propound [cheers and a laugh]. He had had the good fortune to find in a speech of the right hon. baronet's, addressed to his constituents at Carlisle, on the 12th of January 1835—and he hoped the right hon. baronet would not plead the statute of limitations [series of "question"]—some advice which he thought well deserving of attention. That speech was evidently printed by no hostile hand, and it contained the right hon. baronet's reasons for not accepting the offer of the right hon. baronet the member for Tamworth to join his administration [cheers]. That administration the right hon. baronet deprecated in this language:—"The composition of that ministry is as bad as I can well imagine [loud cheers]. It is entirely composed of men to whom and to whose measures I have been all my life opposed" [loud cheers]. He (Mr. Handley) remembered rightly that ministry comprised the right hon. gentleman the member for the University of Oxford, who now so often sat in close contact with the right hon. baronet; it comprised the right hon. gentleman the member for Harwich, and it comprised the right hon. baronet the late reconciled member for Kent [cheers and laughter], who a short time ago had treated his leader with the terrible motto "nusquam tuta fides" [cheers]. But the reasons why the right hon. baronet felt himself under the necessity of not accepting the tempting offer made to him, were in these words; and they were so forcible, so opposite, and so much better than any he could hope to furnish, that he trusted the house would permit him to read them [hear, hear]. They were as follows:—"I rejected the offer on the ground of public duty. I could not think I should have been acting rightly; that I should have been discharging my duty to my country, or showing that proper regard which I consider due to my own character if, because I differed from my late colleagues upon one point, I were therefore to plunge into opposition to them upon all points [loud and repeated cheers], and that, too, in support of men against whom I have struggled during the whole of my political life. Such conduct I should have looked upon as inconsistent with private honour [loud cheers], and as not calculated to advance the public good" [loud cheers].

And now, on this corn-law question, what confidence could he, or the "heavy agriculturist" of Lincolnshire, place in Sir R. Peel? Sir Robert had said nothing explicit, except that he adhered to the principle of a sliding scale; but that might mean anything. Did Sir R. Peel intend to continue to the farmers of England the protection they at present enjoyed? That simple question at least might be answered. Sir Robert had given his opinions openly on ballot and suffrage, but he had never declared himself on the charter; perhaps that would have been a breach of the treaty of Nottingham. For himself, he was not prepared to take the bait held out in Sir Robert Peel's political rat-trap. What did Sir Robert intend to do with Ireland? and what would the right hon. baronet have thought of him if he had left his friends on such an occasion? He would not, however, insist on an answer to this last question, for that might be painful to some of Sir Robert's friends.

Thursday, June 3.

Mr. COLQUHOUN, in vindicating Sir James Graham from the attack of Mr. Handley, exposed the inconsistencies of the latter in very stringent terms; showing that Mr. Handley, who so loudly vaunted his own consistency in reform principles as contrasted with the political course of Sir James Graham, had himself been a keen opponent both of the Roman catholic claims and of parliamentary reform. It had been said that a government cast off by the House of Commons was entitled to appeal to the country. This was a new doctrine. These ministers had been in desperate circumstances before, but then they resorted, not to dissolution, but to a temporary resignation. He entered into a parallel between the present state of affairs and that retention of office by Mr. Pitt's ministry, on which they now relied as their excuse, pointing out the differences of the two cases, and the consequent inapplicability of the precedent.

Mr. O'CONNELL, after reminding Mr. Colquhoun that he also had not remained faithful to his early opinions, disclaimed all such personal topics when there was really a great question before the House, namely, by whom and on what principles the country was to be go-

verned. Many important advantages had been gained by the absence of the tory party from the government, and of those advantages, in his (Mr. O'Connell's) opinion, none was more important than the manner in which Ireland had been governed. The present administration was the first that had governed Ireland with justice, and without preferring party considerations to the welfare of the people. He denied that the several elections that had taken place during the present parliament were any criterion of the feelings of the people, for in those elections the most notorious bribery had prevailed. [Here some gentleman on the tory side exclaimed "No," in so loud a voice as to disconcert Mr. O'Connell for a moment.]

He repeated that every single election in which the opposition were triumphant had been carried in that way [oh, oh, and cheers]. The successes at these isolated elections were not, however, a proof of the want of confidence in government, but of corruption in the electoral body [hear, hear], and that was the result of the narrow state of the franchise. If the franchise was extended, coupled with the vote by ballot, bribery and corruption would be at an end [hear, hear]. Now, he would ask what chance the country had of obtaining either an extension of the franchise, or vote by ballot, if gentlemen opposite should come into power [hear, hear]? What useful measures could the people expect from them? None. If they dared, they would make the franchise even more restricted in England, and they certainly would never give to the people any measure which would make a man's vote his own [hear, hear].

What hope could Ireland have of Sir R. Peel, who, when secretary for Ireland, was the first minister who came forward as an avowed eulogist of the orangemen, whom he described in that House as men whose "only fault was an exuberance of loyalty." During his administration, not a man was admitted to the magistracy who did not bear the shibboleth of the party, not a year passed during which several individuals were not shot at some of the orange displays. Upon that same party Sir R. Peel would now have to rely if he came into office, and it would be idle to suppose that he would have it in his power to restrain his supporters. There was some hope for Ireland during the existence of the present administration. The whigs had assumed no unconstitutional powers, although in troubled times. The accession of their opponents would hold out a gloomy prospect to Ireland. She could not hope that the tories would amend the municipal bill, or make a just alteration as to the property of the church. The tendency of the people to outrage would be exasperated by the apprehension of adverse juries, judges, and sheriffs, under a new ministry. Sir R. Peel had governed Ireland as secretary some years ago, and governed her upon orange principles; he had even gone so far in 1814 as to declare, in his vindication of the orange party, that their only fault was the exuberance of their loyalty. The judges likely to be appointed under Sir R. Peel's administration would be the exterminators of the peasantry and the enemies of toleration. Sir R. Peel could not help taking that course, for if he did not support his party his party would not support him. The chartists were now friendly to the tories, but would soon be rendered hostile and violent by disappointment, and tumult would follow. For his own part, and that of his friends, he would say that they disdained the base aid of that squalid party. The country was in distress, yet the tories refused cheap bread. They also refused cheap sugar, having now found out that they were enemies of slavery, although, like the citizen who had all his life been unconsciously speaking prose, they had never before suspected themselves of such a tendency. He protested against a change of government. To support the present ministry was the only chance of giving efficacy to the reform bill.

Mr. Serjeant JACKSON wished to expose the irrelevancies and misrepresentations of Mr. O'Connell's speech. That member had boasted of the even-handed justice distributed by the present ministry to Ireland. The present ministry professed to discourage the repeal agitation, and to exclude repealers from honours and offices. Yet they suffered Mr. O'Connell himself, and several other members of the Repeal Association, whom he enumerated, to be deputy-lieutenants or justices of the peace; and these were the ministers who had removed Colonel Verner from the commission for simply having been present at the drinking of an obnoxious toast. Mr. O'Connell had imputed bribery to the tories, and claimed credit to his own partisans for perfect purity. That statement was refuted, not only by St. Alban's and other English boroughs, but by the gross attempts at corruption now proceeding throughout Ireland, on behalf of the ministerial party, both in money and in promises of official patronage. The learned member had stigmatised the Irish landlords as oppressors of their tenantry. He believed the learned member was not very lenient to his own tenants. [Mr. O'Connell complained that this was a personal attack, and disorderly, but the Speaker decided against him, and Mr. Serjeant Jackson proceeded.] The learned member was in the habit of attributing the state of Ireland to the harshness of the landlords. Had he not himself, in April, distrained for rent due only on the 25th of the preceding March? The learned member had been in the habit of attacking the absent: this question, as to himself, was put openly in his presence. No; the causes of evil were not the oppressions of the landlords, but the agitation of Mr. O'Connell and his followers, and the misgovernment of the Queen's ministers in the Castle of Dublin. One truth the learned member had uttered,—that the English people did not know Ireland. If they had known Ireland and the learned member, not one of them would have lent his aid to such a state of things as now existed. As to the resolution before the House, he admitted that a ministry might constitutionally appeal from the House to the country, if the House did not speak the sense of the people. But could this be the case with the present House, chosen under this ministry, and under their own Reform Act? Mr. Macaulay had endeavoured to set up a distinction in favour of the government where its defeat was not upon an administrative but merely upon a legislative measure. But had not their Jamaican defeat been a merely legislative one? Nay, it was but a constructive defeat, for they had then a majority of five; yet they took the voice of the House on that occasion as conclusive against themselves. They had now advanced a measure of free trade. Had it been concocted with an intention and expectation of carrying it? No; but as a resource in awkward times, as a tub to the whale. Sometime the expedient was to make ballot an open question, sometimes to abandon the post-office revenue, sometimes to establish free trade in sugar, timber, and corn! The government had been brought into difficulty by the Irish registration bills, and therefore only was it that this free trade legislation was now advanced.

Mr. O'CONNELL said, that all his lands, except one farm, were underlet, and that he never turned out any tenant. If any such distress

had been made as was now imputed, it had been done by his agent in his absence and without his knowledge.

Sir D. ROCHE bore testimony to Mr. O'Connell's character as a landlord.

Mr. SLANEY hoped, before the debate closed, that Sir R. Peel would make some statement of the measures he meant to bring forward for the benefit of the humbler classes of the community.

The Earl of DARLINGTON maintained that few statesmen of eminence would be able to show that they had been guilty of no inconsistency in the course of a long political career. Little importance was, therefore, to be attached to the charges made so pointedly against Lord Stanley and Sir J. Graham; but if honourable gentlemen opposite were on the look-out for inconsistency, why did they overlook Lord Palmerston, or why did they not single out Lord J. Russell, who in 1821 wrote so admirable a pamphlet in defence of the agricultural interest against the competition of foreigners.

Sir G. GREY defended the consistency of Lord Melbourne on the subject of the corn-laws. That noble lord had refused his consent to an agitation in favour of an alteration in the law, until he became convinced that the benefit to the people of such a change would outweigh the evils of agitation. Sir G. Grey spoke at great length against the resolution before the house, and maintained that it was necessary, before an appeal was made to the country, that there should be a full discussion of all the measures proposed by government.

Mr. CUMMING BRUCE said that a government could only be judged by the effects it produced; and if the distress of the labouring classes was as great as had been stated by Mr. Slaney and Sir G. Grey, it followed that the government must be a bad one, such a state of things having been brought about under its auspices. Mr. Bruce took it upon himself to defend the consistency of Sir J. Graham, who, he believed, was as sincere a whig now as when he sat at the other side of the House, which he quitted only when he found he could no longer act with his old friends, without a sacrifice of principles. The present financial difficulties had originated in the meddling interference of the government in the concerns of foreign nations, whence a multitude of little but expensive wars had arisen. The hon. gentleman more particularly blamed the want of energy shown by ministers in the case of Algiers, and afterwards passed a general censure on their conduct with respect to the Scotch church.

Sir W. SOMERVILLE said the question now before the House, important as it might be to the other portions of the empire, was a question of life and death to Ireland. If the accession of Sir R. Peel to power was to be accompanied by the passing of Lord Stanley's registration bill, he (Sir W. Somerville) believed that a regular government would be impracticable in Ireland. On the subject of the corn-laws, he had always voted with Mr. Villiers, and he still believed that a high price of corn was not necessarily beneficial to the Irish landowner.

Mr. HAMILTON insisted upon it that ministers had brought forward their measures, not to relieve the labouring classes, but to keep themselves in their places. Cheap bread must lead to low wages.

Mr. MUNTZ denied that the only question before the House was whether the present government enjoyed the confidence of the House. That was not the only question. The question was, whether the gentlemen opposite enjoyed that confidence. He, for one, did not place confidence in ministers, but he knew no reason why he should place more confidence in Sir R. Peel, who had given them no information as to what he intended to do when in power.

Colonel CONOLLY wished to know upon what pretence ministers retained power, if they were, on their own showing, unable to bring the country out of the difficulties into which they had brought it? He had never placed confidence in ministers, but their late measures ought to induce the whole country to drive them from their places with ignominy.

Friday, June 4.

Mr. SHEIL resumed the adjourned debate. He began by calling attention to the fact that the resolution before the house contained no condemnation of the measures of ministers, and did not, therefore, preclude the adoption of those same measures by the opponents of the present government should they come into power. The present question, he said, was not on corn nor on sugar, but on the confidence to be placed in a ministry which had done so much for these kingdoms, and especially for Ireland. He addressed himself to several topics of Sir James Graham's speech. In particular he urged, that the post-office measure, which Sir James Graham had condemned, had been supported by a large body of the tories, including that eminently conservative assembly, the House of Lords. He then passed rapidly in review some of the leading points of the history of the whig administration during the last ten years. While alluding to the recent foreign policy of the cabinet, he quoted the words of M. Berryer in praise of Lord Palmerston, and asked whether the House of Commons was now prepared to address the crown, to transfer the direction of the foreign relations of the country to the party which in 1829 abandoned Turkey to Russia, and, by permitting the treaty of Adrianople, laid the foundation of all the difficulties that had since arisen in the Levant. Much had been said in this debate about the appropriation clause; but its enemies had not hesitated themselves to sanction a measure of appropriation in the Canada clergy reserves bill. In 1835 Sir Robert Peel dissolved a parliament which had sat but two years, notwithstanding the great excitement, both civil and religious, which then prevailed, and gave a high appointment to Lord Roden, the late Grand Master of the Orange Lodge. Sir R. Peel had, indeed, conceded municipal reform to Ireland, but he had done it on the invidious terms of establishing the higher franchise for the poorer country. From the policy of Sir Robert Peel he turned to that of the present ministers, and called on the house to support a government which had advanced reform, municipal and parliamentary, which had opened the trade of the East Indies, abolished slavery, provided for education, conciliated Ireland, and united the Canadas.

Sir S. CANNING supported the motion.

Mr. C. BULLER defended the ministry for retention of office, and contended that a weak government that could do no good, was far better than a strong government disposed only to do harm. But the government which would succeed the present would not be strong. Ireland would baffle it.

The right hon. baronet was not unaware of the hopelessness of the contest. When power was last within his reach, the right hon. baronet confessed that he shrunk from grasping it on account of the difficulties that encumbered it. Ireland, he then said, was his great difficulty. All that he had done since had been to augment the difficulty of governing Ireland [cheers]—and if he could not now with truth repeat the same confession, it was only because he had of late contrived to make England a greater source of difficulties than Ireland itself [cheers]. In one respect he (Mr. C. Buller) perceived, in the course of the right honourable baronet, a change that seemed to have been wrought by the recollection of the course which he was compelled to take with respect to the Catholic question. His experience on that matter seemed to have suggested to him the inconvenience of pledging himself to particular measures, and his aim of late appeared to have been to avail himself of a party without binding himself to its policy [cheers]. On every question on which he had had to vote his great object appeared to have been to leave himself at liberty to vote the reverse hereafter [hear, hear, and cheers]. And, like the feudal baron of old, while appearing to strengthen his defences against the foe, his chief ingenuity had been expended in providing postern gates and subterranean passages to facilitate the abandonment of his stronghold [cheers]. He (Mr. C. Buller) knew of no question which the right honourable baronet had not made a matter of unspecified time, and unparticularized details [cheers and laughter]. He boasted to the house the other night of his eminent explicitness on every subject of public interest; and his explicitness exhausted itself so completely on the charter, that he told them nothing of his policy as to any question about which any body expected that he would have to give a practical vote during the next ten years [cheers]. He would tell the right honourable baronet what effect his explicit declarations had produced on public expectation. The right honourable baronet had been so explicit on the subject of sugar, that he had left it perfectly open to himself to make the trade in sugar more free than the present government proposed to do after the lapse of a year or two, or on the slightest diminution of supply from our present sources [hear, hear]. He had put the question of the timber duties on the unknown contents of a letter from the present Governor-General of Canada, without a sight of which he alleged that the human mind was incompetent to grapple with the principle of the question [laughter and cheers]; and the policy which he might adopt in office depended on the letters which his own future governor-general might at the convenient moment write, in order to further whatever views he might hereafter wish to establish [cheers]. The right honourable baronet had been so explicit on the corn laws, that no man knew whether his hinted alteration of that sliding scale to which he had pledged himself with such vague devotedness, was to amount to a mere mocking of the suffering people of this country, or to a virtual fixed duty [hear, hear].

Lord DUNGANNON and Col. SIBTHORPE spoke bitterly against ministers; Sir H. BERNEY and Mr. HAWES in favour of them, and of their project of reform.

Lord STANLEY was surprised at the unseemly line of defence assumed by ministers. They did not deny the first clause of the resolution, which described them as lacking the confidence of the House: they admitted this proposition, and denied only that which in any other times would have been a mere corollary from it, that under such circumstances they had no right to retain their offices. Sir John Hobhouse, indeed, had pleaded that there were some measures which they had been able to carry; but Sir J. Graham had shown, in answer, that, of the measures so enumerated, there was not one upon which they had not been supported by the opposition, nay, which had not been borrowed from preceding governments—from that of Lord Grey, and from that of Sir R. Peel.

On all those measures of the ministers which had not been supported by the opposition, they had signally failed: every such measure had, as Sir J. Graham had shown, been either rejected by the House, or abandoned by its authors. How had the government been upheld by its own ostensible partisans? It had resisted the ballot; its own force was a small minority against the force of Mr. Grote; the conservatives had come to the rescue, and the small minority was converted into a majority of more than 3 to 2. So on Mr. O'Connell's motion for the assimilation of the franchise—so on Sir H. Fleetwood's motion for the extension of the suffrage—so in other cases all within the last two sessions. In each instance the ministry alone would have been defeated by its own allies; in each instance the conservatives had brought a force sufficient to defeat those allies, even though every man of the ministerial party should have stayed away. Such was the evidence that they had lost power; yet in the face of that evidence they were now prepared to say that they ought not to give up office. But Sir J. Hobhouse had set up the plea that still the ministry had the favour of the Crown, which, after all, said he, was the best support. A greater offence could hardly be imagined than to whisper such a doctrine in the ear of a sovereign of the house of Brunswick. Yet deeper still was the guilt of the minister who employed such an argument to influence or overawe the deliberations of the House of Commons. Another cabinet minister, Mr. Macaulay, had set up a distinction between defeat on the administrative conduct of a ministry, and defeat on its legislative efforts. But Mr. Macaulay, with all his historical research, had been able to find no one instance in which any government had ever been forced out of office in respect of its administrative conduct alone. If their chief difficulties were now found in the matter of finance, it was because finance was the only department in which they had not been controlled. It had been said that a ministry was not bound to resign on a single defeat; but the present ministry had sustained a series of defeats. The noble lord then drew a parallel between the weakness of Sir Robert Walpole's lingering administration in its latter days, and the weakness of the still adhesive whig ministry. It had been said in this debate, that the Crown had the power to dissolve. True; and the people were anxious for that event, as the means of liberating themselves from such an administration. But the Crown's advisers were responsible for the dissolution; and what was the ground on which they meant to justify it? No want of harmony between the two Houses, for both alike condemned these measures. If, however, a majority of one or two votes could be gained in a new House of Commons, then the two Houses would be brought into conflict. The real ground of the intended dissolution was the hope of raising an agitation through which ministers might cling a little longer to office. But it was not constitutional to hang the threat of a dissolution over the House of Commons. That House was not to carry on its debates with an eye to the hustings. Such a threat had been used by Mr. Canning in 1807, and condemned by all the whigs of that time, including the present Lord Lansdowne and the present Lord Grey. In 1826, the 7th year of the first parliament of George IV., its approaching expiration was urged by Mr. Huskisson as a reason against the stirring of the corn law question. What would that statesman have said, if the proposal had been to make such a question the great party pivot of that day and of many a succeeding year? Lord Stanley, after reading, as a specimen of the tone taken by the agitators, a hand-bill put forth at Stroud, among the supporters of Lord John Russell, proceeded to deal with the Lincolnshire members. The avowed object of the resistance to this motion was to give to ministers a better chance of gaining time for the defeat of the agriculturists. How if that object should now be carried for ministers by three votes, and those three the votes of three of the members for the agricultural county of Lincoln? He concluded by warning the government that the time for forbearance was past, and that the people of England were now about to assert themselves.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL had never encountered a more unsubstantial motion. How, he asked, was the assertion that ministers had crippled the energies of the country supported? Was it by referring to the Mediterranean, Turkey, India, China, the colonies, or Ireland? With respect to the historical precedents, Lord John insisted on their inapplicability to the circumstances of the present time—

A great change had taken place in the constitution; and glancing at the legislation of the ministers whose resignation had been taken for precedents, it would be seen that they had placed a very meagre list of measures on the statute-book. Since the reform bill, great changes long delayed had been demanded, and government was obliged to submit a multitude of bills to the refusal of the legislature; while there was a less servile adherence to government than used formerly to obtain.

Lord John then mentioned the test and corporation act and catholic relief, to show that strong governments might be subject to similar difficulties with the present "weak" government. And Lord Stanley and Sir James Graham, members of Lord Grey's government when it was defeated on the malt-tax, and when Sir Robert helped to retrieve that defeat by rescinding the resolution of the House, were not much shocked and astonished. Lord John recapitulated what the whigs had done, which Sir Robert Peel left undone on going out of office—

He had left the power of returning members to the House, in some 150 or 200 instances, in the hands of individuals, while the great towns of the country were unrepresented; he had left 800,000 British subjects in the condition of domestic animals; abuses in the poor-law which threatened to swallow up the landed property of the country; municipal corporations self-elected; tithes a subject of constant dispute between the clergyman and his parishioners; the poor in Ireland absolutely destitute; perpetual disputes between the clergy and dissenters on account of compulsory ceremonial in marriages and baptism; the municipal corporations of Ireland in a state of exclusiveness and intolerance. All this had been reversed; and to the list of measures by which that had been done, must be added reforms of the criminal law and the Canada union act. Lord John had perhaps been too sensitive on the subject of organic changes; but he must say that these great changes had been effected without a pretence for saying that the country had been disturbed; and the continued rise in the funds vindicated the administration of the finances.

In reference to the grand failures with which ministers were charged, the appropriation clause had been abandoned, not because it was rejected by the Commons, but to avoid collision with the House of Lords; and Lord John could not regard the question as finally at rest even now, though he was not prepared to stir in it himself; and the Jamaica Bill Sir Robert Peel had himself declared was not a party measure; while the Duke of Wellington expressed an opinion that ministers had resigned prematurely upon it. The majority of eighteen on the appointment of the present Speaker, immediately afterwards, restored the position of government. Lord John repeated some arguments in favour of the choice which ministers had made in the alternative of new taxes, loans, or financial reform, to make up the deficiency. They had duly pondered the weighty reasons for resignation or dissolution, and had decided in favour of the latter; but no threat had been uttered on the subject. He did not believe with Mr. Hawes that Sir Robert Peel contemplated a trifling change in the sliding scale: he thought that if he had the power he would make a very great change; but at all events on a subject of so much importance it was advisable to appeal to the people; and the decision of that night would evidence such a division of parties as would prevent Sir Robert himself from carrying on the government with the present House of Commons.

Sir R. PEEL commenced his reply by observing that he did not need to be reminded of the measures that had passed—

He knew something of criminal law reform, though he had not paid a commission to sit for five years; he had introduced a bill to remove the grievances of dissenters in regard to marriages and baptisms; the Irish tithe act, with the important addition, he admitted, of compulsory commutation, was copied from his own bill; and with respect to half the measures that had been named, they had been carried with the help of the opposition.

He had not taunted Lord John with the Jamaica Bill; but the fact was, that government was forced to adopt his policy; and to trust to him for averting that revolution once a year which Lord John used to deprecate, and for defending the prerogative of the Crown. Sir Robert contrasted the state of the finances when he left office, when there was a surplus of 2,000,000*l.*, with the existing deficiency of 7,600,000*l.* He then replied to the constitutional objections which had been urged against his resolution—

He had never said that ministers, upon being defeated on a single measure, should resign at once; but two years ago, Lord Morpeth, after a series of defeats, made the frightful announcement that government had at last determined to exist no longer upon sufferance. As to the distinction between legislative and administrative confidence, that was swept away by the admission of the whole of the ministers, that the defeat on the sugar duties, following other defeats, had placed them in a situation which left them no alternative but to resign or dissolve. But, in fact, a government rested for public confidence more on its legislative measures than on the mere departmental administration. Did not the measure of catholic relief, the test and corporation act repeal, the municipal bill, the poor-law, impart to the ministers by whom they were propounded their distinctive character in the eyes of the people? Look at the consequences of enforcing the distinction: the Crown, when desirous of influencing the House of Commons, would seek to place it in the wrong by proposing popular measures for rejection which would incur popular odium; while the House would have no influence on the government except through tampering with its administrative functions. It was said that the reform bill had neutralized historical precedents; but Sir Robert should have thought that advocates of that measure would have held it more strictly to represent the wishes of the people than formerly, and therefore more worthy of deference.

Then as to the right to dissolve—

It was said that the present juncture was matter for grave consideration: if so, his resolution was not so utterly groundless: especially as no intimation had been given that government contemplated a dissolution until it was actually announced. It had therefore at least elicited the declaration as to the course which government felt bound to take. Sir Robert did not deny that ministers had a right to dissolve; but he denied their right to pick and choose a measure to offer to the refusal of a condemned parliament; they ought to have dissolved immediately after they obtained a renewal of the annual sugar duties.

Sir Robert denied that he had fomented religious animosities in Ireland, and pointed to the fact that he had caused the voluntary suppression of Orange Lodges. He declared it preposterous to call upon him for details in respect to the corn duties; but all knew that none was more steady in defence of the existing corn laws than he had been; though he would not irrevocably bind himself to resist any improvement in the details of the present system. Why had not these questions of corn, sugar, and timber been proposed before, if they were sincerely proposed? His own impression was, however, that two budgets had been prepared, one for fair weather and another for foul: the foul weather had brought out the present. Under all these uncertainties, he had felt it his duty to bring the House to a distinct declaration.

The House then divided; when the resolution was affirmed, by 312 to 311—a majority of 1 against ministers.

Monday, June 7.

MISCELLANEOUS ESTIMATES.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL addressed the House in a low but distinct tone of voice. He intimated that previously to the division, he had expressed an opinion to his colleagues, that if the division was adverse to them, they ought not to bring on a motion of such importance as that respecting the corn laws. In this opinion his colleagues had concurred. The noble lord made a few brief observations in reply to

charges that had been made against government with respect to the manner in which this question had been brought forward, and denied in the most positive manner that the financial measures of the government had been brought forward with any view to agitation.

He had now only one remaining statement to make as regarded the charge made by the right hon. gentleman opposite in the course of his reply on Friday last. The right hon. baronet stated, as he understood, his belief in the report that the government had had two budgets prepared—a fair-weather budget and a foul-weather budget [cheers]. It was stated, at the commencement of these discussions, as a charge against the government, that the budget had been a sudden thought—that his right hon. friend had, he supposed, in the course of a single morning, prepared the whole of those extensive alterations which he had proposed. That was a charge so extravagant that he had taken no notice of it, and the inventors of it, he imagined, had become so convinced of its extravagance that they had dropped it [hear, hear]. He did not think that there was any man, whatever his political party might be, who, as a confidential adviser of the Crown, and holding a responsible office in the government, could so far forget his duty as to frame two budgets in order to suit his own political situation [hear, hear]. He regretted that the right hon. baronet had brought forward so absurd a statement, and in a manner that led the House to suppose that he thoroughly believed it [hear, hear]. There was not the least foundation for the assertion [hear, hear].

On the propriety of a dissolution he observed,

The noble lord the member for North Lancashire said the other night that the question of dissolution was not one which ought to be discussed in that house, and that it was a matter of prerogative; whether that opinion was right or not, he thought no man would say that, after the division on Friday night, when 623 members voted, and there was only a majority of one in favour of the resolution of the right hon. baronet, and when he believed there were only eight members of the house who were not accounted for, either as having declared their opinion in the house, or of having suggested their opinion by pairing off—and the eight members who did not either vote or pair off, certainly not being to be depended upon by either party in that house [hear, hear, and laughter] for their support, either of the existing government or of any government which the right hon. baronet might form—when such a division of opinion prevailed in the house, he thought, whatever might have been the case before as to the propriety of giving any advice to her Majesty with respect to an appeal to the country, it must now be generally acknowledged, both in that house and in every part of the kingdom, that it was not very likely that, during the continuance of the present House of Commons, any steady majority would be found in favour or support of the government of either party [hear, hear]. Such being the case, he confessed it appeared to him as clear as any proposition in politics ever did, that the only method of solving this doubt and difficulty, was that the country itself should decide upon questions which so gravely affected the interests of the country [cheers]. And if, on that decision being made, it should be a decision in favour of the party now in opposition, he thought it would be inadvisable, on the part of the present ministers, to commence or continue any struggle for the purpose of their continuance in the offices they now held. But if, on the contrary, the country should decide the other way, and give a majority to her Majesty's present government, then progress might be made in those measures which he and his colleagues thought so essential to the welfare of the country [cheers].

His lordship explained that they intended to demand that night only such votes of the civil contingencies as were necessary to prevent inconvenience to the public service, and concluded by moving the order of the day for the House to go into a committee of supply.

Sir R. PEEL said, that after Lord John's denial of the double budget, he felt bound to place, and did place implicit confidence in the assurance that no such device had been practised. As to the abandoned motion on the corn-laws, he thought the noble lord, in the speech he had just made should have confined himself to one of two courses. He was entitled to abandon that motion, or to open it to the house; but he was not entitled to do both—not to withdraw the motion, and yet to state his main heads of argument upon it. It would be easy now to set forth the reasons on the other side; but that could not be done without provoking the very discussion which it had been agreed to waive. He was the more ready to forbear, because Lord John's assigned reasons had not carried much impression; and those reasons which the noble lord had kept behind, were, of course, not likely to be stronger than those which he had brought forward. It was to be inferred from what had been said, that ministers intended an immediate dissolution. On that he would now give no opinion; he would leave on the ministers the whole responsibility of appealing to the people under an excitement respecting the corn-laws; but if they did mean to assume such a responsibility, they were bound to exercise it with the least possible delay. A parliament should never be left to deliberate, when it knew its days to be registered; and the peculiar position of the ministry since the late vote, imposed an additional obligation on them to recur to the sense of the people at once. He should oppose no obstacle on the subject of the supplies. But it was further requisite, that as soon as possible the new parliament should be convoked; not only by reason of the unsettled state in which all commercial business, especially the import trade in corn, was left by the newly proposed measures, but still more with reference to the condition of the executive government, which was now recorded as being no longer in possession of the confidence of the people. No considerations of personal or private convenience ought to interfere. Precedent was all in favour of what he urged. Mr. Pitt, who dissolved an adverse parliament in 1784, convened the new one immediately; the same thing was done in 1807, and the same thing in 1831. The country therefore had a right to expect the immediate re-assembly of the legislature; but he did not wish to enforce a practical guarantee for that re-assembly; he would be satisfied if Lord John Russell would simply declare, that ministers intended to advise the speedy convocation of the new parliament. There was nothing unconstitutional in such an anticipation. The King's speech before the dissolution in 1807, had expressed an intention to assemble the new parliament forthwith: the same announcement had been made on the death of George III., and again in 1831. But whether Lord John would make this declaration or not, he, (Sir R. Peel), though he would not oppose any obstacle to immediate dissolution, would be no party to any implication, that it would be allowable for the government to postpone the meeting of the new parliament.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL, in a low tone, replied, that though he did not generally deem it advisable to state beforehand the advice which ministers might be prepared to offer to the crown, he had no objection to declare their intentions upon this occasion, which were to advise that the present session should be wound up as speedily as possible, and that the new parliament should be summoned without delay.

Sir R. PEEL expressed himself satisfied with this declaration.

Mr. VILLIERS strongly protested against the postponement of the discussion of the corn-laws.

Mr. WAKLEY complained of any arrangement under which the public money was to be now voted away by careless members, no longer troubling themselves about anything but preparation for the approaching contest. The only object of that contest appeared to be a change of the ministry; but the future leader, Sir R. Peel, had been so niggardly of promises, that nothing could be inferred as to the policy of the incoming government. Was Lord Stanley's Irish registration bill to be taken as a sample? He hoped public men would be honest in their declarations at the hustings. Sir R.

Peel, he admitted, was always honest in his professions; but that was not the case with all his supporters, many of whom had held very different language on the hustings and in the house. It was his own intention to make a collection of hustings' declarations, which, should he again be returned to that house, he would cite against all, whether friends or foes, who should belie them in parliament.

Mr. LABOUCHERE repeated the denial of Sir R. Peel's charge against government respecting a double budget. Sir R. Peel had also intimated that, but for his notice of motion, the government would have endeavoured, notwithstanding the division on the sugar duties, to retain office without dissolution. He assured the House that no such course had been in their contemplation. He thought the early disclosure of their intentions as to the corn, timber, and sugar questions, would have been highly injurious, by creating uncertainty and premature speculation in all the branches of commerce connected with those articles. However, with respect both to the timber and to the corn questions, it was no novelty that the government in general had long been disposed to advance the principles which they put forward in this budget; and on the sugar duties also, indications had been given by them of their disposition to freedom of trade; so little ground was there for the insinuation that this budget was an after thought. On many other kindred subjects of commerce also the Board of Trade had been prepared with analogous reforms. The government had seen with alarm the great protected interests banded together on the one side and the manufacturers with the working people on the other. This, if not checked by government and by Parliament, would be a state of conflict to which all former factions would be as nothing; and undoubtedly it was the duty of Ministers to interpose upon matters of so great and extensive importance to the public interest.

Colonel SIBTHORP said he had been prepared to oppose many of the items in these estimates; but that, under the circumstances of the time, he should defer his objections, not doubting that he should be again at that table in another Parliament, when he hoped to support the Ministry of Sir R. Peel, the only man whom he thought now able to save the country.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER, after repeating the denial of the double budget, adverted to the statements made in Sir R. Peel's late reply, about the surplus maintained by conservative governments, and the deficiency incurred by the present ministry, and disputed the correctness of Sir R. Peel's figures.

Sir R. PEEL explained, and defended his own former statements.

Mr. HERRIES drew a contrast between the whig and conservative governments, bringing out a balance much in favour of the conservatives.

Mr. HUME said, the fault was with the Tories, who had seduced the Whigs into the expense of foreign wars and large establishments. He blushed at the effrontery of the conservatives in claiming credit for their finance. Last year he should not have cared whether the government was whig or tory; but since this budget he was wholly for the whigs. He then launched into a disquisition upon the corn laws, averring that the sole object of Sir R. Peel's motion had been to prevent the discussion of them in the House of Commons, and charging the landlords as the causes of all the people's sufferings. The landlords, in his opinion, paid no taxes at all; they were practically as much exempt as the nobility of France before the revolution in that country.

Mr. GOULBURN took credit for the financial measures of the conservative ministries before the reform bill, whom he showed to have made large reductions in the public burdens.

Sir D. L. EVANS considered all the verbiage of ten days' debating to have been expended for no other purpose than to prevent the discussion of the corn laws. He said the present fiscal system was one of fraud and plunder, and that was the language he meant to use on the hustings.

The House then resolved itself into committee of supply, and the estimates were voted without opposition.

Not a single tory member was absent from the division of Saturday morning, without having previously provided himself with a pair. There were 11 pairs, and eight absent liberals.

The following is a list of dissolutions of parliament which have occurred during the last fifteen years. A dissolution took place in December, 1826, in the reign of his late Majesty George IV.; another occurred in July, 1830, in consequence of the death of George IV.; a third dissolution was resolved on by Earl Grey's ministry, in April, 1831, in consequence of the non-success of the New Reform Bill. Parliament was again dissolved at the close of the year 1832, for the purpose of having a House of Commons elected according to the provisions of the New Reform Act. The first reformed parliament lasted about two years, having been dissolved in December, 1834, by the new ministry, of which Sir Robert Peel was the premier. Sir Robert Peel's parliament existed about two years and a half, when it came to "an untimely end" in consequence of the lamented demise of his late Majesty William IV. It will thus be seen that the average duration of each of the six parliaments which have been elected from 1826 to 1837 inclusive was not more than about two years and four months (under two years and a half). The present parliament, if dissolved, as is expected in a week or two, will not have lasted four years; it has sat during four sessions, including the present one.

POSTSCRIPT.

In the House of Commons last night, on the motion of Mr. Easthope, the church-rate abolition bill was read a first time, and ordered to be printed.

Mr. EASTHOPE presented petitions against church-rates, against ecclesiastical courts, and for the liberation of Mr. William Baines—from Acerrington, Lancashire; Wymondham, Norfolk; New Basford, Notts; Trinity Chapel, Kingsland road; and Little Wild-street, Lincoln's inn fields.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL said it was not the intention of the government to proceed with the following measures:—the Factories Bill (committee); the Silk Factories Bill (committee); the County Court's Bill (further consideration of report); the Bankruptcy, Insolvency, and Lunacy Bill (committee); the Registration of Voters (Scotland) Bill (committee); the Boroughs' Improvement Bill (further consideration of report). It was, however, intended to proceed with the Ecclesiastical Commissioners Bill (committee); the Bribery at Elections Bill, (committee); the New South Wales &c. Bill (committee); and the Administration of Justice Bill. The noble lord moved that the order of the day for the committee on the Bribery at Elections Bill be postponed till to-morrow (this day).

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Favours have been received from Edinburgh, Hanley, Leicester, Winchester, and Wandsworth, all of which shall be attended to as early as possible.

"Ramarium's" letter will be inserted, if he will allow us to put it into a shape most suitable for our columns.

We respectfully request our country friends, in all possible cases, to give their orders to the news agents in their respective localities; where this is impracticable, the better way is to send the amount of subscription (26s. per annum) by post-office order, direct to the office, which will secure the regular transmission of the paper to their address.

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The Nonconformist.

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, JUNE 9, 1841.

THE OBSERVED OF ALL OBSERVERS.

THE excitement produced by the bare glimpse of hope afforded by the ministerial project of reform—the activity it has generated—the new political combinations, natural and unnatural, to which it has led—the clash of minds—the shouts of that party whose legislative strength is confessedly the weaker—the cries of their antagonists who yet can boast of a majority even in the people's house—the free-trade, anti-monopoly hue assumed by the liberal press, and deeply tinging the addresses of liberal candidates to electors—the moderate tone pervading the professions of all but the ultra disciples of the conservative school—exaggeration on one side and studied concealment on the other—the plan of ministers over-stated, the views of Tories adroitly covered, and never, except under urgent pressure, stated at all—every placard which variegates the walls or is carried in solemn pomp along the streets—every speech uttered at public meetings, no matter what may be the resolution in which it terminates—petitions, processions, publications, may we not add, parliamentary votes—all are but varying expressions of the country's mind on the subject of monopoly. There is no mistaking the people's views on this important, all-absorbing question. Their heart is in their countenance. The nation's tongue may give the lie to the nation's thoughts, but any reflective observer may read the truth in the nation's face. Repeal is what they want—what they hope for—what, eventually, they will obtain.

The nation's tongue! Yes! it is for the limited body of electors now, to clothe the purposes of the people with speech, and give interpretation to the deep emotions which heave the bosom of society. It is for them to embody and substantiate the subtle spirit which quickens and moves the mighty mass. They constitute the machinery through which the mind of the country must work out its designs, and expend its force. The millions—trade, commerce, liberty, peace, national progress—all are in their hands. They have accepted office—they stand pledged as trustees—heavy responsibilities devolve upon them—the destinies of the empire, and indirectly of the world, are poised upon their truthfulness. They are the observed of all observers. Every eye is upon them. All classes wait expectant, hoping, fearing, their decision. Let them but pronounce the doom of monopolies, and the drooping interests of this great kingdom would instantly revive, and blossom, and bear fruit. It would send a thrill of joy through the nation's heart such as it has not felt since the passing of the reform-bill. It would save us from yawning destruction—it would be life from the dead. Let them fail, at this momentous crisis, and we shall be exposed to the dreadful alternative of violent revolution or national beggary.

We should be glad to entertain hope with regard to the issue of the impending struggle, were it possible to do so, without blindfolding our judgment. But in human affairs, none but the ignorant can hope against hope. It is just at a moment like the present, that we become most nervously alive to the innumerable evils inflicted upon the country by the fatal policy of the Whigs in reference to the franchise. To what a fiery ordeal are our constituencies exposed? Extremely limited in numbers, refused all protection, laid open to intimidation as artful as it is cruel, who can wonder if, after all, patriotism should be merged in individual claims, and the expectations of a great people blasted by the threats of immediate loss to our dependent tradesmen? Let us calmly survey our position.

The cumbrous system of registration has excluded from the franchise thousands of liberal-minded men, whose zeal for the public good has not been proof against the annual annoyance of proving their right to possess a vote. The vast expense, the incessant vigilance, the vexations and disappointments created by the present machinery of registration, have impelled large numbers of honest and right-principled men, to throw up their privilege in disgust. The Tories having much to gain, and more to keep, have never relaxed their attention to this point. And hence the registries will be found very greatly in their favour.

Nor is this by any means the worst feature of the case. The selection of candidates by our constituencies is rather nominal than real. Not the best man but the richest must be their choice, if they mean to succeed. The longest purse carries the election. Otherwise the vague generalities and palpable imbecility of many professedly reforming candidates, would never be endured. Electors are not stupid enough to prefer empty profession to solid reality, where the latter is to be obtained. But they cannot put up a man who is unable to pay the costs, and as these—thanks to the rejection of the ballot and the finality doctrine of the Whigs—are in

every case enormous, they are tempted to prefer a rich dolt who will succeed, to a straitened philosopher who will fail. They have just Hobson's choice—this or nothing.

Add to this all the powers of intimidation that an aristocracy can wield—the timidity of some men, the venality of others, the distrust of ministers felt even where it is not expressed—and we think that a sober judgment will not anticipate great things from the present appeal to the people. A liberal majority—a working majority, as it is termed, may possibly be returned—but how, under our present system, can we rationally expect that it will be composed of men who in a serious struggle with the upper House, will stand firm to the principles they professed upon the hustings? Is it not in the nature of things, that men who have been compelled to purchase their seats at a tremendous cost, should esteem very lightly the responsibility of their relation to the electors who have returned them?

Men do not gather grapes of thorns. Salutory results are not to be expected from systems essentially vicious.

We have spoken of probabilities. None will rejoice more than ourselves should the event prove that we have miscalculated. Meanwhile, we may be allowed to urge, that no probability of failure can absolve the electors from the duty of exertion. The greater the difficulties to be overcome, the more need there is of energy and wisdom. Even through the present defective machinery, the electors, if true to the solemn trust committed to them, might work out success. The times demand more than ordinary virtue. The stake is one of incalculable worth. National prosperity or national ruin—abundance or starvation—full employment for our industrious population, or unmanageable, unmitigable pauperism—this is the question which the observed of all observers are to settle once for all. May their verdict be according to the truth!

HOW WEARY, STALE, FLAT, AND UNPROFITABLE!

WE must give Sir Robert Peel credit for knowing well what he was about when he announced his intention of moving a resolution of want of confidence in ministers. The substitution of a tedious, dull, rapid discussion upon "the spirit of the constitution," to which interest could only be imparted by personalities and recriminations, and which, if successful, would go for nothing, in the room of a debate on the corn laws, was an object worthy of Sir Robert's ingenuity to conceive—worthy of his peculiar faculty of investing non-entities with an air of solemn importance, to carry out. His success must have satisfied himself. He has whistled off the House from the pursuit of a great reality, and set them in chase of an airy phantom. Three long nights have the eloquence and energy of our representatives been expended on nothing. They had the range of universal history before them; and as things lose their interest in proportion as they become vague and indistinct, so the speeches of honourable members being little else than wordy expansions of general propositions, were more than usually monotonous—the melancholy hum of wind in its passage through a hollow body.

The prime advantage of the movement was the door it threw open to the sagacious baronet and his retainers, through which the conservative section might escape from the inconvenience of pledging themselves to any definite line of future policy. An opportunity was afforded all parties by the resolution to hover round and round the one point about which the nation cares, without being compelled to alight upon it. They were saved the necessity of saying yes, or no. They were allowed to be anywhere, or nowhere, as it best suited them and their future prospects. They might shun Scylla without fearing Charybdis. They have spoken enigmatically, and reserved to themselves the power of interpreting their speeches on the hustings. They have cleared every enclosure—the wide world of politics is before them—and they are free to roam wherever love of place may prompt them. They flatter themselves that they go forth to their constituencies as the blest unknown—and as to their real character and designs—why, they may "hide them in smiles and affability."

If anything could allay the excitement out of doors, this debate would certainly do it. Nothing could be better calculated to take the edge off of keen desire. It is like an opiate to a craving stomach. It ministers no nourishment, but produces torpor. Ministers had proposed to give a wholesome stimulant, that the electors might go to their work with life and interest. A discussion on the corn laws would have given a fillip to the hopes and energies of the nation. It would have served the office of a last gape before one is broad awake—dispelled remaining drowsiness. Sir Robert saw how undesirable this would be for him and for his party. For the stimulant he has substituted a sedative. He has piled this heavy, meaningless debate upon the head of the people, that if possible a sense of numbness might overspread and paralyse the whole frame of society. He has more to fear from the intellectual activity of the country than from any other cause. Earnestness of purpose touches him like Ithuriel's spear. He can deal with anything more successfully than with a nation deeply interested in its own affairs.

Nothing could be more adroit than the tactics of the honourable baronet. He put his political adversaries into a position which compelled them to forego the advantage of closing the session with speeches on a popular topic, and laid them under the cruel necessity of discoursing on what the people are least disposed to listen to with patience—their own merits as an administration. The country has taken some bitter things at the hands of the Whigs; and Sir Robert resolved that the last taste in its mouth previously to an election should not be a sweet one. No one understands better than he

"That all, with one consent, praise new-born gawds,
Though they are made and moulded of things past;
And give to dust that is a little gilt

More laud than gilt o'er-dusted.
The present eye praises the present object."

This seems to describe the philosophy of his unwonted move. With special art he shifted the discussion from interesting measures, to men until very lately regarded without interest at all—and resolved to send the whigs to the people bound round the head with his own taunts at their feebleness, and bearing in their hands their explanations of their past inconsistencies. If they are now in favour, it is because their last project has induced forgetfulness of their recent course—and Sir Robert chose that the debate should turn, not upon the one thing which had conciliated present good-will, but upon the many things which had moved previous disgust.

We trust the nation will not suffer its attention to be diverted from the real question at issue, by this artful *ruse*. They have to do with principles, not with men. Neither foolish confidence on the one hand, nor deep distrust on the other, should be allowed to tempt them from the hearty and determined pursuit of what alone can save them from destruction. "Down with monopolies!" is the cry that Sir Robert Peel attempts to drown. "Down with monopolies!" must be shouted all the more lustily on account of his attempt. This is not the time to quarrel about this or the other set of men. To remember the past so far as to prevent us from placing ourselves without stipulation in the power of men who have once deceived us, will be salutary—to recal it even to the endangering of our own hopes would be most unwise. But nothing can be more threatening to our prospects than the substitution of the cry "The Queen and her ministers" for "Cheap bread! and free trade."

CHARTISTS ABOVE STAIRS.

FOR no one thing have the chartists been visited with rebuke severer or more just, than for the practice they have of late resorted to of interfering with free discussion at public meetings. Noise can always overmatch reason, and no argument can put down, no wit can tell against, brass pans and tin canisters.

But the chartists are not altogether singular in their antipathy to freedom of debate. We are not sure, whether they caught the complaint from the landowners, or the landowners from them. Certain it is, that this respectable body, composing, mainly our legislative assemblies, have seldom been backward in stopping discussion, on certain prescribed subjects, by an exercise of whatever power best suited the occasion, whether brick-bats and bludgeons, or motions of want of confidence. In country districts the former method is most in favour with the squirearchy, and many a corn law lecturer has had life threatened by brutal violence under the guidance of some reverend justice of the peace. In St. Stephens, the latter method is at times resorted to—but in case it is unsuitable other plans can be adopted. To this fact Mr. Villiers alluded in his speech on Monday night.

Well, then, that was the position of the question; the landowners are the majority of the House, they will not allow the law which gives them a monopoly to be altered, and they will not allow it to be fairly discussed [cheers]. This is a question now seriously engaging the attention of every state in Europe, and the United States in America [hear, hear]; their interests are all involved in it. They see and understand the struggle. They know the parties engaged in the conflict—which are those who profit by a monopoly of the subsistence of the people on the one side, and the advocates of unrestricted commerce with the rest of the world on the other [hear, hear]; and this week presents them with the first scene in this battle [hear, hear], little creditable to the country, though, doubtless, a triumph for monopoly [hear, hear]—a deliberate refusal on the part of the landowners to suffer the question to be fairly debated [hear, hear]. This is their own house, and certainly they had the power to do what they will [hear, hear]. He referred the other night to the close analogy that existed between the slave question in America and the corn laws of England; that resemblance was now strengthened [hear, hear]. This was the state of the slave question in Congress. They refused to discuss it. Two years ago it was mooted, and the members all rushed from the house as they had done to-night [cheers]. That subject is offensive to the interests of the majority in Congress, as the corn laws are to the Houses here, and they refuse to discuss it [hear, hear].

Monopoly wears the same disgusting features in every quarter of the globe. The established clergy, slaveholders, and land-proprietors exhibit the same ugly propensities of human nature. Freedom of speech and of the press is their worst foe, and therefore, wherever they possess the power, they never fail to put it down.

SUMMARY.

THE intelligence from China is important. The Bogue forts have been taken, and the flag of Britain hoisted upon the British factory at Canton. The *Morning Chronicle* announces that this great city, the second in China, is virtually in our hands, and Captain Elliot declares the trade to be again open. Meanwhile the Emperor is enraged, sends forth fiery proclamations, and is preparing fire-ships for the destruction of our fleet.

There would seem to be something deleterious in the atmosphere of China. Sickness thins the ranks of our soldiers, and magniloquence puffs out the despatches of our plenipotentiaries. The air must be infected with opium smoke, or the bombast and exaggeration of Chinese authorities must be catching. Our brilliant successes in that quarter always turn out to be more closely allied to imagination than to fact. Thrice has this question been settled, and still it remains very much *in statu quo*.

The debate on Sir Robert Peel's motion of want of confidence in ministers was resumed on Monday evening, and terminated on Tuesday morning at half-past three o'clock. The majority against ministers was as small as it could be—one vote. The discussion brightened up towards the close, like the last flicker of an expiring lamp. A dissolution will take place, as soon as the demands of the public service will allow of, and the new parliament will be assem-

bled at the earliest opportunity possible. Ministers will then take the sense of the House, and, if defeated, will immediately resign.

The greatest activity everywhere prevails in anticipation of the coming elections. Mr. Hume will stand for Leeds. The Edinburgh dissenters consequently will not have the honour of returning him. What would they think of Mr. Grote?

GENERAL POLITICS.

FOREIGN.

CHINA.—(From the *Times*.)—The negotiations between the British and Chinese commissioners had been broken off a few days after the date of the last despatch (February 13), and hostilities had recommenced, which ended in the capture of all the Bogue forts (30 in number, mounting 800 guns); the destruction of all the defences and batteries up to the walls of Canton; "taking, sinking, burning, or dispersing the enemy's flotilla," in the words of Commodore Sir J. J. Gordon Bremer, who conducted the operations, and on the 18th of March "hoisted the union jack on the walls of the British factory."

This intelligence was contained in two despatches from Macao to Calcutta; the first, by the *Waterwitch*, on the 28th of February, contains the explanation of these extraordinary and eventful proceedings. Keshen, the imperial commissioner, had delayed the execution of the treaty concluded with Captain Elliot to obtain the emperor's confirmation. Instead of approving, the emperor has rejected the treaty, and issued four edicts breathing scorn and defiance of the English, delivering Keshen over to the board of punishment (though without depriving him of his command), divesting the admiral Kwan Teenpei of his button, sending flying orders for the march of 8,000 of his best troops to defend Canton, "to subdue and recover the places on the coast," "to exterminate and drive out the English," "for it is absolutely necessary that the rebellious foreigners must give up their heads, which, with the prisoners, are to be sent to Peking in cages, to undergo the last penalty of the law." The fourth edict clearly betrays the deceptive policy pursued by the Chinese—viz., "To-day, the 11th of February, Keshen has reported that the English foreigners have usurped possession of the batteries, and it is difficult to defend and keep the province. He further reports, in a supplementary document, in which he with intense earnestness begs that favour may be bestowed on the English, &c. On looking at the report, I am altogether filled with indignation and grief. The said great minister, because of the importance of the city of Canton and its granaries of rice, and also because the inhabitants are exceedingly numerous, became apprehensive that commotions would ensue, and made this a cause for temporary expedients, and deceptively acceded to the requests (of the English), and for the present they have not been surrounded or exterminated." This imperial edict continues—"Hasten, then, your consultations and schemes; attack and exterminate, &c."

Before these hostile edicts had appeared, Captain Elliot, confiding in the good faith of Keshen, had sent orders to General Burrell to restore the island of Chusan to the Chinese, and to return with the Bengal volunteers to Calcutta. This order had been promptly obeyed. Chusan was evacuated on the 25th of February. Three vessels with the volunteers on board had reached Singapore on the 16th of March, but it was expected they would be ordered back to Macao. The others had fortunately put into Hong-Kong for water, and were detained there. Of the 1,700 European troops belonging to the 26th and 49th regiments which landed at Chusan in high health in July last, 190 were only left fit for duty. The British imprisoned by the Chinese at Ningpo had been liberated upon the evacuation of Chusan. An arrangement had been made by the friends of Colonel Anstruther to facilitate his escape, but he refused to avail himself of it, as he might thereby have exposed his friends in captivity to greater hardships. Captain Elliot, in pursuance of an arrangement with Keshen, sent on the 14th of February the iron steamer *Nemesis* up the river with a draught of a treaty respecting the "details which remained matter for negotiation," under orders to wait till the 18th. The *Nemesis* found the channel obstructed by barriers, large batteries erecting on shore and on the central island, and herself fired on by the Bogue forts while yet two leagues off. She therefore returned at once to Macao, where Captain Elliot, at length comprehending Keshen's duplicity and the emperor's inveterate hostility, prepared to recommence hostilities. He set sail on the 20th of February up the river; on the 24th Commodore Bremer attacked and destroyed the fieldworks, disabling 80 guns they mounted; on the 25th and 26th he attacked and captured three adjoining Bogue forts without losing a single man, killing about 250 Chinese, and taking 1,300 prisoners, who were subsequently liberated at the opposite side of the river.

The whole British force was on the 28th of February proceeding to attack Canton, at which date the *Waterwitch* was despatched from Macao express with the news to Calcutta. Vessels had also been sent to stop the passing transports from Chusan, and recall those arrived at Singapore. The supreme government of India was making every exertion to send more troops to China. The above intelligence was despatched from Calcutta by express overland to Bombay, but only arrived three hours after the departure of the steamer for Suez on the 1st of April. It was therefore necessarily detained at Bombay till the 27th of April, when the steamer sailed for Suez with Sir James Carnac. The primary error and cause of delay in the transmission of this and the previous Chinese despatches is attributed to the opinion expressed by Captain Elliot, when, on the 27th of January he despatched the *Enterprise* steamer to Calcutta, "that she might stop there, as all was settled in China!" He had at the same time ordered his family to join him, in the conviction that he had re-established peace.

By the arrival of the *Queen* steamer at Calcutta, on the 20th of April, with Commodore Bremer himself on board, we learn the continued successful result of the operations of the British squadron while ascending the Canton river, subsequent to the 28th of February, capturing forts, destroying barriers, and blowing up junks, till the final success at Canton on the 18th of March. The reports of Commodore Bremer to Lord Auckland contain ample details of the daily and almost hourly operations of the British squadron. The casualties on its side are stated to be inconsiderable; twenty-five men and one lieutenant killed, and twenty-six men wounded. All the factories at

Canton were occupied by the British troops. Captain Elliott had, on the 20th of March, issued a "circular to her Majesty's subjects," announcing that a suspension of hostilities had been agreed upon between the Imperial Commissioner Yang and himself, "that the trade of the port of Canton is open, and that British and other foreign merchants who may see fit to proceed there for the purpose of lawful commerce shall be duly protected. No bond will be required by the provincial governor, but there will be no objection on the part of the British authorities to the like liabilities for the introduction of prohibited merchandise, or for smuggling duly proved, which would follow such offences in England, detention of person, or penal consequences of all kinds excepted." The circular winds up thus:—"Notice is hereby given, that British and foreign merchant vessels have permission to proceed to Whampoa; all consequences arising from the possible and sudden resumption of hostilities of course remaining at the risk of the parties."

DOMESTIC.

METROPOLITAN.

The Queen held a privy council on Thursday afternoon at Buckingham Palace.

Her Majesty held a court on Wednesday afternoon at Buckingham Palace.

Her Majesty held a privy council on Friday at Buckingham Palace. At the court on Thursday the following had audiences:—The Swedish Minister, on temporary leave; Baron de Hugel, to deliver his credentials as Minister from the King of Wurtemberg; and the Marquis of Clanricarde, on his return from St. Petersburg. Their Excellencies were also presented to the Prince.

At the council a new 5*l.* gold piece was submitted to her Majesty, and was approved of.

A cabinet council was held on Saturday at one o'clock, which was attended by all the ministers.

Her Majesty gave audiences on Friday to Lords Normanby, Lansdowne, and Melbourne.

A deputation of coach and postmasters, headed by five M.P.'s, had an interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer on Friday, relative to the assessed taxes on carriages let for hire, and a per centage on the gross earnings.

His excellency the Count Bjornstjerna, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary from the king of Sweden and Norway, and his suite, embarked on Saturday at the Custom-house, on board the general steam navigation company's ship Neptune, for Hamburg.

There are various reports afloat respecting the day on which parliament is to be dissolved. The 12th and the 16th instant are the days mentioned.—*Globe*.

The Victoria Park Bill was read a third time, in the House of Lords, on Friday night.

Mr. William Tooke has announced himself a candidate for the borough of Finsbury.

A common hall was held on Tuesday week in the Guildhall, for the purpose of petitioning parliament in favour of the fixed duty of 8*s.* the quarter on foreign corn, as propounded to the House of Commons by her Majesty's ministers. The hall was more than two-thirds full, and was one of the most respectable ever seen within its walls. The platform was crowded with many of the wealthiest men in the city, among whom the greatest unanimity prevailed. Mr. Dillon proposed the first resolution in favour of the fixed duty, which was seconded by Mr. Larpent, and carried with only two dissentient voices. Mr. Travers, Mr. Christie, Mr. Prendergast, Sir Matthew Wood, and other gentlemen addressed the meeting. A petition to parliament, embodying a series of resolutions in favour of the ministerial measures, and in support of her Majesty's present government in carrying them into effect, was unanimously adopted.

The annual meeting of the British and Foreign Temperance Society, was held at Exeter Hall on Monday evening. The chair was taken by Earl Stanhope. Mr. Rundle, M.P., and Mr. William Martin of Cork, the associate of Father Mathew, were among the company on the platform.

A public meeting was held on Saturday week at the Horns Tavern, Kennington, for the purpose of petitioning the government and the House of Commons to form a park in the south of London. The following resolution was unanimously adopted:—"That the meeting witnessed with much pleasure the regard shown by the government and the House of Commons for the health, comfort, and enjoyment of the inhabitants of the east end of the metropolis, by the establishment of a spacious park; and were impressed with the necessity of a similar improvement in the south of London, where, by the density of the neighbourhood, and by the speedy occupation of all vacant places for the purpose of building, all classes were likely to be deprived of needful air, exercise, and recreation."

Number of deaths registered in the Metropolis, the week ending May 20:—Males, 426; Females, 407. Weekly average, 1838-9-40:—Males, 475; Females, 451.

In the Bail Court on Friday, Mr. Justice Wightman informed the Bar that he had no business to proceed with.

Friday was the last day for the surrender of Peter Harris Abbott, the official assignee who has absconded, to the Court of Bankruptcy; he did not come in.

PROVINCIAL.

Sir Thomas Wilde, Her Majesty's Solicitor-General, will offer himself as one of the candidates for the representation of Worcester at the next election.

Two conservatives (Messrs. Hall and Wilberforce) have put up for the borough of Taunton.

On Monday week, a large body of the electors of Bury, in the reform interest, met at the Globe Inn to receive Lord Charles Fitzroy and Mr. Rowland Gardiner Alston, as candidates for the representation of the borough at the approaching dissolution of parliament.

The following new candidates are in addition to those given in our last:—BERWICK UPON TWEED, Col. Fox, (R.) Mr. Somes, (T.) BEWLEY, Mr. Monteith, (T.) BOLTON, Mr. Cobden, (R.) BRIDPORT, Mr. T. A. Mitchell, (R.) BUCKINGHAM, Sir H. Verney, (T.) BURY ST. EDMUNDS, Mr. Alston, (R.) CAMBRIDGE, Mr. Wagstaff, (R.) CHESTER, Sir E. Waller, (R.) CORNWALL, Mr. Rashleigh (T.) DERBYSHIRE, NORTH, Marquis of Granby, (T.) LEWES, Mr. H. Elphinstone, and Mr. Harford, (R.) LUDLOW, Mr. E. L. Charlton, (T.) NEWARK, Lord J. Manners, (T.) NEWPORT, Mr. C. W. Martin, and Mr. W. J. Hamilton, (T.) NORTHUMBERLAND, Mr. S. Ogle, (T.) ROCHESTER, Mr. J. S. Douglas, (T.) WELLS, Mr. Lee, (R.) WIGAN, Mr. Grenfell, (R.)

Mr. William Hobhouse has declined to be a candidate for Bath; and Mr. Blair has refused to stand with Mr. Roebuck.

On Tuesday week a numerous meeting of the liberal electors of Leeds to meet the new candidates, Messrs. Hume and Aldam, was held in the Music Hall, 1500 or 1600 at least being present. Their entrance into the orchestra was hailed with a tremendous burst of applause. Mr. Alderman Stansfield introduced Mr. Hume to the meeting, who made a very able address, and, together with Mr. Aldam, replied to various questions put by the electors in a highly satisfactory manner. The following resolution was unanimously adopted:—"That this meeting expresses its strong and decided approbation of the sentiments of Mr. Hume and Mr. Aldam, and deems them highly qualified to represent this borough, especially at this momentous crisis, when the nation sees a hope of destroying the monopolies that oppress its trade and industry, and this meeting pledges itself to give them its united and most zealous support."

A meeting was held at Manchester on Wednesday last, to consider the subject of repeal of the union, at which Mr. O'Connell, Mr. J. O'Connell, Mr. R. Dillon Browne, Mr. H. Grattan, and others, were present. Carpenters Hall was the place fixed upon, but "the mob" got possession of Mr. O'Connell's person and carried him off to Granby Row Fields, where he delivered a very eloquent and powerful address.

A chartist meeting was held at Sheffield, on Monday week, at which about 10,000 persons assembled, and resolutions of want of confidence in the whigs, were carried by large majorities.

A very large meeting was held in the open market place, Leicester, on Tuesday week to petition parliament in support of the measures introduced by Her Majesty's government for an alteration of the corn-laws, and a reduction of the import duties. J. Biggs, Esq., mayor, in the chair. A resolution in support of these measures was proposed by the Rev. Charles Berry, seconded by Mr. Parker, a member of the working men's anti-corn-law association. An amendment was moved by Mr. Cooper, the editor of a chartist paper, and seconded by another chartist leader, named Markham. The original motion in support of the ministerial measures was carried by a large majority. Two other resolutions were also opposed by the chartist party with a like result. The chartists, invited Collins of Birmingham, Taylor, Dean, and other strangers, to give their attendance, who spoke on the occasion. Messrs. Easthope and Ellis, the borough members were present, and addressed the meeting; as did Mr. Mellor, the barrister, Mr. Brewin, and several other gentlemen.

On Thursday morning, the carriage trains which left the terminus at Paddington, proceeded on the Great Western Railway as far as Chippenham, being the short distance of thirteen miles from Bath. The whole route is to be completed to Bristol by the first of September next. Since the opening of the Great Western Railway, about two millions of passengers have passed over it, without a fatal accident to a single passenger!

The Northern and Eastern Railway is expected to be opened to Harlow in July; and arrangements are making to run all the coaches from Cambridge to the railway station.

It is rumoured in Merthyr and the neighbourhood that several hundreds of workmen have had notice to leave from the iron-masters in the vicinity.—*Bristol Mercury*.

Haymaking has this week generally commenced at the eastern outskirts of the metropolis, and in Hertfordshire. The crops are very abundant from the late rains and genial weather.

The amount of "salt" collected at the Eton Montem has exceeded that of any former year. The sum received by the saltbearers and servitors, approached very nearly 1,300*l.* The expenses of the captain for the day, will amount to about half that sum. At the three preceding Montems, the "salt" collected was as follows:—1832, Williams, captain, 893*l.*; 1835, Money, captain, 1,106*l.* 14*s.*; Williams, captain, 1,186*l.* 13*s.*

IRELAND.

An express arrived yesterday (Tuesday) from Castlehill, Devonshire, the seat of the Earl Fortescue, mentioning that his lordship was suddenly reduced by illness to a state of great debility—so much so as deeply to alarm his noble family for the result. The last accounts received this day, are somewhat more favourable, but little hopes are entertained of the venerable earl's recovery. Lord Ebrington has applied to the Queen for permission to leave his government for a while, and when her Majesty's letter is received—say about Friday or Saturday—the lords justices will be sworn in, and his Excellency will hasten to Devonshire.—*Dublin Evening Post*.

The correspondent of the *Globe* says, the Tories' seats assailable are one seat in each of the counties of Monaghan, Armagh, Carlow, and Sligo, with the boroughs of Newry, Carrickfergus, Downpatrick, and Portarlington. These will be all contested, and I think one half of them won.

It was stated by the secretary of the Irish Society at its last meeting that there are about 600,000 persons in Ireland who have no knowledge whatever of the English language, and about two millions more who have some knowledge of the English, but whose vernacular is the Irish language.

The Dublin paper states, that Sir David Roche will again stand for Limerick, which will have the effect of preventing any contest for that city, and will also enable the reformers there to secure the return of two liberal members for the county, where the registry is in a most satisfactory state, the reformers having a majority upon the 20*l.* and 50*l.* freeholders, exclusive of the honest 10*l.* electors.

SCOTLAND.

The *Scottish Pilot* says, the acceptance by Mr. Hume, of the invitation from the liberals of Leeds, has left the dissenters of Edinburgh without a candidate; and, as a matter of course, the meeting of electors which was proposed to be held this evening, will not take place. It is the general feeling among the dissenters, that they should not propose any man who would not unite a majority of the liberal electors in his favour. The aggregate committee have agreed to yield to the request made by the dissenters' committee, to leave the choice of the candidates at all future elections in the hands of the electors themselves, in public meeting assembled, on eight day's notice. This is a great point gained, and we trust that the dissenters will set about the business in right earnest, and endeavour to find a man of character and abilities, independent of ministerial control, to represent their sentiments and interests in the legislature. There is no time to lose.

At a general meeting of Guildry of Dundee, last week, resolutions were adopted declaring in favour of free trade, accepting the government propositions as a step towards it, and especially anticipating from the results of the alteration to a fixed duty on corn that the agriculturists would be reconciled to a total repeal of the corn-laws.

Resolutions of a similar tendency were adopted at a meeting of the Chamber of Commerce on Wednesday last.

A public meeting was held in the Assembly Rooms, Edinburgh, on Wednesday last, according to a requisition signed by about 600 gentlemen, for the purpose of expressing "cordial sympathy with the seven ministers of Strathbogie in their present painful position, and strong disapprobation of the conduct of the General Assembly in their attempt to depose them from their offices of ministers of the Established Church, in consequence of their having yielded obedience to the law of the land." The meeting is said to have been one of the most numerous and influential which had ever assembled, consisting of men of all parties. The large room was crowded in every part. Among the gentlemen on the platform were Lord Dunfermline, the Master of the Rolls, Sir Gilbert Stirling, Bart., Sir G. Grant Suttie, Bart., Sir George Warrander, Bart., Sir P. Murray, Thriepland, Bart., Sir Francis Walker Drummond, Bart., Sir James Gibson Craig, Bart., Sir Hew Dalrymple, Bart., Sir John Robison, K.B., Lieut.-General Mayne, General Graham Stirling, Hon. M. Walpole, Treasurer Drysdale, Provost Reoch, Bailie Thom, R. Trotter, Esq., J. Hunter, Esq., R. Dennistoun, Esq., John Pitcairn, Esq., John Grant, Esq., W. S. Walker, Esq., Robert Smythe, Esq., A. Murray, Esq., C. Halkett, Esq., A. Lamont, Esq., W. Aitchison, Esq., A. E. Lockhart, Esq., W. M. Stirling, Esq., Captain Tait, R.N., James Aytoun, and Adam Urquhart, Esq., Advocates; Professors Graham, Dunbar, Pillans, and Christison, &c. Lord Dunfermline took the chair. Mr. Aytoun moved the following resolution:—"That this meeting express their cordial sympathy with the seven ministers of the presbytery of Strathbogie, in their present painful position, and their strong disapprobation of the conduct of the majority of the General Assembly, in attempting to depose them from their offices of parochial ministers of the established church, because of their having yielded obedience to the law of the land." Dr. Glover proposed an amendment to the effect that the Strathbogie ministers were not deposed for obeying the law of the land, but for disobeying the laws of the church, and that no sympathy was due to them for the course they had followed. The Doctor met with no support, the meeting being unanimous in favour of the resolution.

At the General Assembly on Saturday, May 29, the Moderator interrupted the proceedings to state that he had received a letter from Mr. Peterkin, agent for the seven Strathbogie ministers, to the effect that he was waiting at the door, with a messenger-at-arms, to serve on the Moderator and the other functionaries of the Assembly, an interdict, granted by the Court of Session, against carrying into effect the sentence of deposition passed against the ministers referred to. A deputation was sent to the Lord High Commissioner, at the time absent, informing him of what had taken place, in order that he might be present before any answer was given to Mr. Peterkin's letter. The Court then entered upon the question what answer should be returned, and came to the decision that it should be stated the letter was under consideration. It was, however, intimated to the Assembly by the officer that the papers had been left at the door by the messenger, which was confirmed by a second letter from Mr. Peterkin, who stated that he did not choose to wait at the door as a suitor, when, by the law of the land, he was entitled to enter. While the discussions were going on, the Solicitor-General entered the Assembly; and, having given his opinion on the legality of the citation, it was agreed that Mr. Peterkin, who was again at the door, should be admitted. Mr. Peterkin accordingly came forward to the table amid cries of "withdraw," during which he went back towards the door, Mr. Dunlop complaining, with great warmth, "that this was a specimen of the manner in which they were treated." The papers were then brought in and laid upon the table—the doorkeeper having certified that these were the papers left by the messenger.—*Scottish Pilot*.

MISCELLANEOUS INTELLIGENCE.

DESTRUCTION OF ASTLEY'S THEATRE.—Yesterday morning Astley's Theatre was reduced by fire to a heap of ruins. The fire broke out in the stables adjoining, and was discovered by the watchman on duty about five o'clock. An alarm was instantly given, but so great was the hold the flames had obtained that all exertions to stay their progress were fruitless. At six o'clock the destruction was complete, the bare walls only being left, and several of the houses which abutted on the theatre had caught fire. By seven o'clock the flames were got under to that extent as to allay all fear of further sacrifice of property. The loss is stated to be very great. Mr. Braidwood and his numerous force of the fire brigade were very soon on the spot, and exerted themselves in the most praiseworthy manner. It is said that the theatre is insured in the Phoenix.

FIRE AT DUNSTABLE.—An extensive fire broke out on Tuesday week in the High street, Dunstable, which destroyed from 17 to 20 houses. Very little was saved out of the buildings; but no lives were lost. It is not known how it originated.

The loss sustained by Sir William Molesworth by the destruction by fire, of his beautiful seat at Tetcott, is estimated at nearly 12,000*l*.

FIRE AT WINDSOR.—On Monday evening a fire broke out in the house of Mr. Layton, confectioner to her Majesty, Thames street, Windsor. The three upper stories were completely gutted, and property to the amount of nearly 1,000*l*. destroyed. The fire was occasioned by the ignition of a foul flue communicating with a beam in the laundry.

On Tuesday evening a man named Eddy, of St. Just, Cornwall, was killed by the lightning during the late thunder-storm.—*Bristol paper*.

Two young men, named William Shield and Richard Carpenter, both linendrapers' assistants, were drowned in the Thames, off Wandsworth meadows, on Thursday last whilst bathing.

Mr. Penny, the publisher of the *Weekly Chronicle*, was drowned on Monday week, owing to the upsetting of a pleasure-boat near Vauxhall bridge.

CAUTION TO RAILWAY TRAVELLERS.—Friday week, as the railway train was proceeding from Selby to Hull, a spark from the engine ignited a valuable shawl and silk cloak belonging to a lady, who had a child in her arms, in one of the open class carriages, and spread with fearful rapidity; some gentlemen rendered immediate and prompt assistance, but their hands were severely burnt in attempting to extinguish the flames.

ACCIDENTS ON THE BRIGHTON RAILWAY.—On Sunday week, a labourer employed on the London and Brighton railway, near Crawley, was knocked down and run over by two brick waggons, and one of his legs was crushed to pieces. He was removed to the Sussex County Hospital at Brighton, but died soon afterwards. Another serious accident occurred on this railway on Friday, when two men named Carter and Blackham were buried by a fall of chalk at St. John's common. Blackham is recovering, but Carter is not expected to survive.

FATAL ACCIDENT.—On Sunday week Mr. Nathan Coope, a shopkeeper in Bradford, married a female of the name of Hannah Newell. After spending the day at Wakefield, the wedding party were on the return home in a gig, about eleven o'clock in the evening. On the road the horse became unmanageable, and on reaching the Wheatsheaf Bar, at the top of Goodmansend, ran with its head against the gates, and was stopped. Coope then jumped out with the intention of seizing the horse's head, but the animal again set off. His wife and her sister, who were along with him, being alarmed, jumped out of the gig, and the bride was killed on the spot, and her sister so dangerously injured that her life is despaired of.—*Manchester Guardian*.

Miss Castles, sister of Mr. Castles, the extensive ship-owner at Deptford, destroyed herself last week by drowning, having previously taken prussic acid. The cause assigned for the deed is the violent death of a young relative, which preyed upon her spirits, and brought on derangement.

A labourer named William Sears, residing at St. John's Wood, on Thursday last attempted to murder his wife by cutting her throat, and afterwards destroyed himself. The woman is still living, but there are no hopes of her recovery.

SUICIDE.—A respectably-dressed man, about 50 years of age, threw himself off the top of the tower of Chelsea church on Monday afternoon, and was literally smashed to atoms. The height of the tower is 200 feet. The body has not yet been identified; but two letters were found in his pocket, addressed to Mr. Lloyd, Leamington, and his linen was marked J. L.

On Saturday morning, a youth, who was driving a cart loaded with gravel in Liverpool-street, Bishopsgate, pulled some tares from a car which was passing him, upon which the carman struck him, and caused him to fall down beneath the wheels of his own cart, which went over his head and neck, and caused instantaneous death. The carman is in custody until the result of the inquest is known.

THE PRESIDENT STEAM-SHIP.—Her Majesty's envoy at the Court of Lisbon has ordered out the brig *Espoir*, Lieutenant Paulson, the only British vessel of war in the Tagus; and Count Bomfim, the Portuguese Minister of Marine, has sent out two small vessels of war with provisions, &c., to cruise in expectation of being of service to the President.

The President had three months' rations on board when she left New York on the 11th of March; moreover, her cargo partly consisted of a large quantity of flour.

It is stated as positively certain that an uncommonly large ship's deck, which is presumed to have belonged to a great steam-boat, has been found by fishermen in the Cattegat, and towed into Marstrand.

RESTORATION OF THE POST-OFFICE REVENUE.—In the course of a paper drawn up by Mr. Rowland Hill, and entitled "The Results of the New Postage Arrangements," which was read to the Statistical Society on Monday, the 17th May, it was stated that the present rate of increase on all letters is twenty-one per cent. per annum, or upwards of forty per cent. on the original number; and should this rate of increase be maintained, and each succeeding year bring an augmentation of twenty-one per cent. as compared with the year 1840, the complete restoration of the gross revenue will be effected in about three years and a half from the present time.

CHURCH AND STATE.—The following jumble of things sacred and profane, ecclesiastical and lay, is from a country paper:—*Diary for the Week.*—Sat. 29. King Charles II. Restoration: Petty sessions at Newport Pagnell: Petty sessions of county magistrates at Shire Hall, Bedford: Oxford term ends. Sun. 30. Whit Sunday: Lessons; Deut. xvi. to v. 18; Acts v. 34: Evening; Isaiah xi. Acts xix. to v. 21. Mon. 31. Whit Monday: Lessons; Genesis xi. to v. 10; 1 Cor. xii.: Evening; Num. xi. v. 16 to 30; 1 Cor. xiv. to v. 26: Petty sessions at Luton: Sale of Bozeat Wood, at Olney, by Revis: Cambridge term ends. Tues., June 1. Petty sessions at Luton for highways: Sale of farming stock, at Kensworth, by Mellor. Wed. 2. Oxford term begins. Thurs. 3. Monthly meeting of the trustees of the Bedford charity: Petty sessions at Amphill. Frid. 4. Petty sessions at Woburn: Full moon 42 min. past three in the morning. Sat. 5. Sale of Phaeton on the Market Hill, by T. Smith.

A LONG NOSE.—A Paisley manufacturer having got, by some accident, a severe cut across the nose, and having no court-plaster at hand, stuck on his unfortunate proboscis one of his gummed cotton-tickets, on which was the usual intimation, "warranted 350 yards long."

CROMWELL AT PRAYER—One understands moreover how, though he could not speak in Parliament, he might *preach*, rhapsodic preaching; above all, how he might be great in extempore prayer. These are the free outpouring utterances of what is in the heart: method is not required in them; warmth, depth, sincerity are all that is required. Cromwell's habit of prayer is a notable feature of him. All his great enterprises were commenced with prayer. In dark inextricable-looking difficulties, his officers and he used to assemble, and pray alternately, for hours, for days, till some definite resolution rose among them, some 'door of hope,' as they would name it, disclosed itself. Consider that. In tears, in fervent prayers, and cries to the great God, to have pity on them, to make his light shine before them. They, armed soldiers of Christ, as they felt themselves to be; a little band of Christian brothers, who had drawn the sword against a great black devouring world not Christian, but Mammonish, Devilish,—they cried to God in their straits, in their extreme need, not to forsake the cause that was his. The light which now rose upon them,—how could a human soul, by any means at all, get better light? Was not the purpose so formed like to be precisely the best, wisest, the one to be followed without hesitation any more? To them it was as the shining of heaven's own splendour in the waste-howling darkness; the pillar of fire by night, that was to guide them on their desolate perilous way. Was it not such? Can a man's soul, to this hour, get guidance by any other method than intrinsically by that same devout prostration of the earnest struggling soul before the Highest, the giver of all light; be such *prayer* a spoken, articulate, or be it a voiceless, inarticulate one? There is no other method. 'Hypocrisy?' One begins to be weary of all that. They who call it so have no right to speak on such matters. They never formed a purpose what one can call a purpose. They went about balancing expediences, plausibilities; gathering votes, advices; they never were alone with the *truth* of a thing at all. Cromwell's prayers were likely to be 'eloquent,' and much more than that. His was the heart of a man who *could* pray.—CARLYLES LECTURES ON HEROES.

The census of the United States is at length officially announced. The number of inhabitants is 17,100,572, included in which are 2,369,553 slaves, and 371,606 free coloured people. The population in 1830 was 12,856,407.

FOR SIR R. PEEL'S MOTION OF WANT OF CONFIDENCE IN MINISTERS.—312

Acland, T. D.	Damer, Hon. D.	Hope, G. W.	Polhill, Frederick.
Acland, Sir T.	Darby, Geo.	Hotham, Lord.	Pollen, Sir J. W.
A'Court, Captain.	Darlington, Earl.	Houldsworth, T.	Pollock, Sir F.
Adare, Lord.	De Horsey, S.	Houstoun, G.	Powell, Col.
Alexander, N.	Dick, Quintin.	Hughes, W. B.	Powerscourt, Lord.
Alford, Lord.	D'Israeli, Benj.	Hurt, F.	Præd, W. T.
Antrobus, Edmund.	Dottin, Abel K.	Ingestre, Lord.	Price, R.
Arbuthnot, Hon. H.	Douglas, Sir C.	Inglis, Sir R. H.	Pringle, Alex.
Archdall, M.	Douro, Lord.	Irton, Samuel.	Pusey, Philip.
Ashley, Lord.	Dowdeswell, W.	Irving, John.	Rae, Sir W.
Ashley, Hon. H.	Drummond, H.	Jackson, Serjeant.	Reid, Sir John.
Attwood, W.	Duffield, T.	James, Sir W.	Richards, R.
Bagge, W.	Dugdale, W. S.	Jermyn, Earl.	Rickford, W.
Bagot, Hon. W.	Dunbar, G.	Johnstone, Hope.	Rolleston, L.
Bailey, J.	Duncombe, Hon. W.	Jones, John.	Rose, Sir George.
Bailey, J. jun.	Duncombe, Hon. A.	Jones, Captain.	Round, Charles.
Baillie, Colonel.	Dungannon, Lord.	Kelly, F.	Round, John.
Baillie, H. J.	Du Pre, George.	Kenble, Henry.	Rushbrooke, Col.
Baker, Edward.	East, James B.	Kerrison, Sir E.	Rushout, George.
Baldwin, C. B.	Eaton, R. J.	Kelburne, Lord.	St. Paul, Sir H.
Baring, Hon. F.	Egerton, Lord F.	Kirk, P.	Sanderson, R.
Baring, Hon. W. B.	Egerton, Sir P.	Knatchbull, Sir E.	Sandon, Lord.
Barneby, J.	Egerton, Wm. T.	Knight, H. G.	Scarlett, Hon. J. Y.
Barrington, Lord.	Eliot, Lord.	Knightley, Sir C.	Shaw, Rt. Hon. F.
Bateson, Sir R.	Ellis, John.	Law, Hon. C. E.	Sheppard, T.
Bell, Matthew.	Estcourt, T.	Lefroy, T.	Shirley, E. J.
Benett, J.	Farnham, E. B.	Lennox, Lord A.	Sibthorp, Col.
Bentick, Lord G.	Farrand, Robert.	Liddell, Hon. H.	Sinclair, Sir G.
Bethell, Richard.	Fielden, Wm.	Lincoln, Earl of.	Smith, Abel.
Blackburne, I.	Fellowes, Edward.	Lindsay, Hugh H.	Smyth, Sir G.
Blackstone, W. S.	Filmer, Sir E.	Litton, Edward.	Smythe, Hon. G.
Blair, James.	Fitzroy, Hon. H.	Lockhart, Alex. M.	Somerset, Lord G.
Blakemore, R.	Fleming, John.	Long, W.	Sotherton, T. E.
Blennerhassett, A.	Foley, E.	Lowther, Col.	Spry, Sir S. T.
Boldero, H. G.	Follett, Sir W.	Lowther, J. H.	Stanley, Edward.
Bolling, W.	Forester, Hon. G.	Lucas, Edward.	Stanley, Lord.
Botfield, Beriah.	Fox, S. L.	Lygon, General.	Stewart, John.
Bradshaw, J.	Freshfield, J. W.	Mackenzie, T.	Sturt, H. C.
Bramston, T. W.	Gaskell, J. M.	Mackenzie, W. F.	Sugden, Sir E.
Broadley, Henry.	Gladstone, J. N.	Mackinnon, W. A.	Teignmouth, Lord.
Broadwood, H.	Gladstone, W. E.	Macleod, D.	Tennent, J. E.
Brooke, Sir A. B.	Glynne, Sir S.	Mahon, Lord.	Thesiger, F.
Browgrigg, S.	Goddard, A.	Maidstone, Lord.	Thomas, Col.
Bruce, Lord E.	Godson, Richard.	Manners, Lord C.	Thompson, Ald.
Bruce, Cumming.	Gordon, Hon. Capt.	Marton, C.	Thornhill, George.
Bruen, Colonel.	Gore, O. J. R.	Master, T. W.	Tollmache, F. J.
Bruges, Wm. H.	Gore, O. W.	Mathew, G. B.	Tomlin, George.
Buck, Lewis W.	Goring, H. D.	Maunsell, T. P.	Trench, Sir F.
Buller, Sir J.	Goulburn, Henry.	Meynell, Capt.	Trevor, Hon. G. R.
Burr, Higford.	Graham, Sir J.	Miles, P. W. S.	Trotter, John.
Burrell, Sir F.	Granby, Marquis.	Miller, W. H.	Tyrell, Sir John.
Burroughes, H. N.	Greene, T.	Milnes, R. M.	Vere, Sir C. B.
Calcraft, J.	Grimsditch, T.	Monypenny, T. G.	Verner, Col.
Campbell, Sir H.	Grimston, Lord.	Mordaunt, Sir J.	Vernon, G. H.
Canning, Sir S.	Hale, R. B.	Morgan, C. M.	Villiers, Lord.
Cantilupe, Lord.	Halford, H.	Morgan, Octavius.	Vivian, J. E.
Cartwright, W. R.	Hamilton, C. J. B.	Neeld, Joseph.	Waddington, H. S.
Castlereagh, Vis.	Hamilton, Lord C.	Neeld, John.	Walsh, Sir J.
Chapman, A.	Harcourt, G. G.	Nicholl, John.	Walton, John.
Cholmondeley, H.	Harcourt, G. S.	Norreys, Lord.	Welby, G. Earle.
Christopher, R. A.	Hardinge, Sir H.	Northland, Lord.	Whitmore, T. C.
Chute, W. L. W.	Hawkes, T.	Ossulston, Lord.	Wilbraham, Hon. B.
Clements, H. J.	Hayes, Sir E.	Owen, Sir J.	Williams, R.
Clerk, Sir G.	Heathcote, Sir W.	Packe, C. W.	Williams, T. P.
Clive, Hon. R.	Heneage, G. W.	Pakington, J. S.	Willmot, Sir J. E.
Cochrane, Sir T.	Henniker, Lord.	Palmer, G.	Wodehouse, E.
Codrington, C. W.	Hepburn, Sir T.	Palmer, Robert.	Wood, Colonel.
Cole, Hon. H.	Herbert, Hon. S.	Parker, Montagu.	Wood, Colonel T.
Colquhoun, J. C.	Herries, J. C.	Parker, R. T.	Wyndham, W.
Compton, H. C.	Hill, Sir R.	Parker, T. A. W.	Wynn, Rt. Hon. C. W.
Conolly, Edward.	Hillsborough, Lord.	Patten, J. W.	Yorke, E. T.
Coot, Sir C.	Hinde, John H.	Peel, Sir R.	Young, J.
Copeland, Mr. Ald.	Hodgson, Fred.	Peel, Jonathan.	Young, Sir W.
Corry, Hon. H.	Hodgson, R.	Pemberton, T.	
Courtenay, P.	Hogg, J. W.	Perceval, Col.	
Cresswell, C.	Holmes, W. A'Court.	Pigot, Robert.	
Crews, Sir G.	Holmes, Wm.	Planta, Rt. Hon. J.	
Cripps, J.	Hope, Hon. C.	Plumptre, J.	
Dalrymple, Sir A.	Hope, H. T.	Jenkins, Sir R.	
		Jones, J.	
		Ker, D.	

Paired in favour—

The following, who were in the monopolists' majority of 317, voted in favour of ministers on this division:—

Berkeley, Hon. H.	Handley, Henry.	Lushington, Dr.	Style, Sir C.
Cavendish, Hon. C.	Heneage, E.	Marsland, T.	Townley, R. G.
Cayley, E. S.	Ingham, Robert.	Moreton, Hon. H.	Worsley, Lord.

LITERATURE.

The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments, according to the authorised Version; with Marginal References and Illustrations, a Summary of the several Books, an Analysis of each Chapter, and explanatory Notes, by the Rev. JOHN BROWN, late Minister of the Gospel at Haddington: and numerous additional critical and explanatory Notes, and introductory Remarks to each Book of Scripture, by the Rev. J. B. PATTERSON, and the Rev. A. S. PATTERSON. Glasgow: Printed by Fullarton and Co. 1841.

IN the list of Bibles published by the gentleman whom our Christian rulers have authorised by letters patent to amass wealth by making the bread of life scarce, and respecting whose infamous privilege a society of men professedly mourning over the spiritual destitution of mankind, and by their agency in all our towns and villages gathering up the pence of the poor to promote the circulation of the word of God, decline to pronounce an opinion—in the list of Bibles published by the highly-favoured Mr. Spottiswoode, January 1833, we find "quarto Bible, pica type, with Dr. Blaney's marginal references, apocrypha, indices, &c. fine wove royal paper," was to the public 2l. 5s. in quires.

In the list of the British and Foreign Bible Society, issued early in 1840, we observe the same book advertised to societies for 16s., coloured calf. This extraordinary reduction in price shows that in the interval between the two periods of time there had been at work some powerful agency to the operation of which the change must ultimately be ascribed. We cannot seek it in the disinterested kindness of the monopolist—we shall not find it in the firm and earnest remonstrances of the Bible Society's committee. The fact is not accounted for by any zealous efforts put forth in this matter by the religious public. The cause is found in the untiring energy of Mr. Childs, of Bungay,* whose name was prominent enough when it was the fashion to condemn, but who is never mentioned now that success is to be lauded—in the well-planned and thoroughly executed labours of Mr. Joseph Hume, whom nobody has thought worthy of ordinary thanks—and in the high-toned principle and unsleeping vigilance of Scotch dissenters, under the able and upright guidance of Dr. Adam Thompson, to whom the world is but beginning to do justice. By the united, self-denying, and indefatigable exertions of these three men, persevered in amid general indifference, much obloquy, numberless discouragements, and bitter vituperation, through several years, the monopoly in Scotland was abolished, and the prices in England brought down to a point which the king's printer declared would be ruinous.

Let every one have his meed of justice—we have no wish to detract from the fame of Dr. Campbell. But we think that the man, who never entered the field until a few months back, who fought with arms furnished him by others, who took up a position of advantage his own prowess had not won, whose series of speeches and letters commencing with a withering denunciation of the monopoly as "the perfection of the abomination that maketh desolate," and terminating with a shout of "long life and good health to the monopolist," can hardly be set down, on the score either of labour or of devotion to principle, alongside of the less ostentatious, but far more valuable efforts, of the trio already mentioned—we think that he; when indiscriminate admirers placed the laurel on his brow, and spake of adding a more substantial testimony of admiration and gratitude, would have lost nothing in character, and would have done only a becoming homage to truth, had he disclaimed having done more than partially reap the harvest which others had toiled for "during the heat and burden of the day," and had he reminded his friends that the victory which drew forth their acclamations had not as yet been secured. Dr. Campbell will pardon us if we hint to him, that the praises awarded to and received by him, would form a crown of nettles, should Mr. Andrew Spottiswoode—encouraged by the Bishop of Winchester's speech at the last anniversary of the Bible Society, professing that cheap prices are but "an experiment" which may be found to fail, and by the silence of the committee on this privilege viewed in connexion with the anxiety they appear to feel, that the cheapness of their books should be regarded as owing to the inferiority of their paper—in a moment of general indifference to this subject, put back his prices to the original mark. We fear the Queen's printer would take a cruel interest in torturing his antagonist, who has compelled him to a hollow truce, the moment he believes it may be done with safety.

The Bible named at the head of this article is in quarto. It is a reprint of Fullarton's edition of Dr. Brown's self-interpreting Bible, and from the same types, omitting his commentary and reflections on each chapter. It contains all his marginal references, with the addition of several thousands by other hands. It has besides, introductory remarks to each book, and numerous notes of high critical value in the central columns. Taken altogether, it is the cheapest Family Bible ever printed—aptly entitled by Dr. Thompson, in his

* We shall not be deterred from doing this gentleman justice, by the false reports originated and put into circulation for sinister purposes, by men who seem to hunt down his public reputation with all the keenness of parties conscious of having done him injury. Coined at the mint of these parties is the foolish fabrication that the *Nonconformist* is Mr. Childs's paper. We are not ashamed to avow that any connexion with Mr. Childs would be a source of satisfaction to us. We would much rather wear his name, if needs be, than fear to mention it even at the demands of truth, consistency, and justice. But the report is as false as many others that have issued from the same source—and Mr. Childs we dare believe, should he ever swerve from integrity, would expect the *Nonconformist* to be the last paper that would wink at the dereliction. Mr. Childs has no connexion whatever with this paper other than that which arises out of his sympathy with the earnest advocacy of antimonopolist principles.

preface to it, "the people's edition." It is among the first fruits of a scheme originated by himself, and "sanctioned by multitudes throughout the united empire, for the circulation of the scriptures at the cheapest possible rate." It is published under the auspices of the Scottish board for bible distribution. Its price is, in quires, 10s., in plain calf, 15s.

This may be hastily set down as so small a reduction upon the Bible Society's last published price as to offer little inducement to interfere with the existing monopoly—more hastily by far than truly. What guarantee have we that the Bible Society will be able to maintain the present reduction of prices? It just depends upon whether it shall be more to the interest of the monopolist to tighten or to relax his gripe. Once again, could the same bibles be disposed of at the same low rate by the Bible Society's committee, but for the aid of a large amount of annual subscriptions, gathered in for bible circulation, expended to a too great extent in adding wealth to the monopolist? And lastly, would any printer in the kingdom consent to produce this volume, with the quantity of small type employed in the introductions and notes, at anything like the same price as he would be willing to take for the Bible Society's edition. Here we have a much more expensive book than that of the Bible Society, sold at a lower price and without annual loss, the small sum required for the purchase of the stereotype plates being the only money sunk in this magnificent enterprise.

We congratulate the Scottish dissenters upon this noble and substantial realisation of their wishes. We congratulate Dr. Adam Thompson. They have erected a national structure which their children will contemplate with chastened exultation. Not inaptly may the genius of Scotch dissent adopt the language of Horace—

"Exegi monumentum ære perennius,
Regaliæ situ pyramidum altius;
Quod non imber edax, non Aquilo impotens
Possit diruere, aut innumerabilis
Annorum series et fuga temporum."

They will be honoured by posterity—their works will live after them—they have smitten the rock, and the waters of life have gushed forth abundantly. Would that, in compassion to a parched and thirsting world, our timid divines would go and do likewise.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

1. *The Early Life and Conversion of William Hone, &c.*; a Narrative written by himself. Edited by his son, WILLIAM HONE, author of "The Every-day Book," &c. "By it, he being dead, yet speaketh." London: T. Ward and Co., Paternoster Row. 1841.
2. *Anti-Popery*; or Popery unreasonable, unscriptural, and novel. By JOHN ROGERS. A new edition, altered and amended. London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co., Stationers' court; Hatchard and Son, Piccadilly. 1840.
3. *Christian Activity demanded by the Signs of the Times*: a Sermon preached in Albion street, Chapel, Glasgow, on Wednesday, April 7, 1841, on occasion of the 29th Annual Meeting of the Congregational Union of Scotland. By JAMES MATHESON, D.D. Glasgow: James Maclehose and Robert Nelson. London: John Snow, Jackson and Walford.
4. *The Spiritual Destitution of our Country and the Best Means of remedying it*, considered in a Discourse preached in Nile street Chapel, Glasgow, on Thursday, April 8, 1841, at the 29th Annual Meeting of the Congregational Union of Scotland. By W. LINDSAY ALEXANDER, M.A. Glasgow: James Maclehose and Robert Nelson. London: John Snow, Jackson and Walford.
5. *The Moral Influence, Dangers, and Duties connected with Great Cities*. By JOHN TODD. London: T. Ward and Co. Paternoster Row.
6. *Tracts on the Errors and Evils of the Church of England*. By the Rev. W. THORNE, Winchester. London: Jackson and Walford.

RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

The income of the principle religious societies supported by voluntary contributions exceeds 300,000*l.* annually.

At the anniversary of the Leicestershire Association, of Particular Baptist Churches held at Foxton, on Tuesday, June 1st, the following resolution was adopted:—"That, abhorring the monopoly of the word of God in this kingdom, this association views with high satisfaction the efforts which have recently been made to oppose it, and earnestly hopes that its destruction will speedily be effected by the combined exertions of the friends of revealed truth."

At a meeting of Sabbath-school Teachers connected with the Independent Chapel, Stone, held June 1st, the following resolution was passed:—"That this meeting, regarding the monopoly of the word of God as opposed to the authority of Christ and injurious to the souls of men, embraces this opportunity of expressing to Mr. Childs, together with Drs. Thomson and Campbell, the deep sense it entertains of the benefits these gentlemen have been the means of conferring upon the inhabitants of this country, and indirectly upon the world, by procuring bibles at the present reduced prices, and fervently hopes that neither they nor the public will relax in their efforts until the monopoly be completely destroyed."

The forty-seventh anniversary of the Northern Baptist Association, which comprises the Baptist Churches of the counties of Northumberland, Durham, Cumberland, and Westmorland, met on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday last, in the Baptist chapel, Stephenson street, North Shields. Among the resolutions passed were the following:—"That the association enters its most decided protest against the levying and enforcement of church-rates, as also against the wicked despotism exercised through the medium of the spiritual courts—deeming both these to be not merely a breach of that charity which the gospel inculcates, but directly opposed to the whole revealed will of Christ, and most hostile to the true interests of his church. And, at the same time, they would record their entire and heartfelt sympathy with those conscientious men who have suffered imprisonment and confiscation as the victims of those most unrighteous imposts—contemplating them in no other light than as sufferers of persecution for Christ's sake."—"That the thanks of the association are due, and are hereby tendered, to the Rev. Drs. Campbell and Thompson, for their noble and disinterested efforts to suppress the bible printing monopoly."

The most numerous and interesting meeting ever held in Gainsboro' Independent chapel took place on Monday se'nnight, being the 22d anniversary of the opening of the chapel. On Sunday, sermons were preached by the Rev. Mr. Stratten, of Hull; and on Monday evening a tea party met, which was attended by 200 visitors: a considerable sum was raised towards liquidating the debt on the chapel, which was stated to be considerably reduced since the appointment of Mr. Loxton to be the minister.—*Stamford Mercury*.

The anniversary services of the Bedfordshire Union of Christians, took place on Wednesday week. In the morning an excellent sermon was preached by the Rev. Dr. Cox, of Hackney, from part of the 17th verse of the 33rd Psalm, "He fashioneth their hearts alike." In the afternoon the sacrament of the Lord's supper was administered to the members of the united churches in the same place of worship, and in the evening the annual meeting was held at Howard chapel, the Rev. Mr. Bull, sen., in the chair. Various resolutions were moved and seconded, and addresses delivered by the Rev. Messrs. Wane of Hitchin, Frost, Kent of Biggleswade, Bull, jun., of Newport, Lord of Woolaston, Hemmings of Kimbolton, and Whitmore of Rushden. Liberal collections were made after each of the services.

On Wednesday, 26th May, was laid the foundation stone of a chapel on an eligible spot in the New North road, in the parish of St. Thomas, Launceston, Cornwall, for the Wesleyan Methodist association, lately seceding from the Conference Methodists. An appropriate discourse was delivered on the occasion by Mr. Henry Williams, superintendent minister of the Camelford and Wadebridge circuit of churches. At the conclusion, a number of friends adjourned to the subscription rooms, and took tea, after which a public meeting was held, and a liberal collection obtained, in behalf of the "Wesleyan Methodist Association British and Foreign Mission." The chair was occupied by Mr. Rosevear of Barn Park, Boscawen, and impressive addresses delivered on the subject of missions by Messrs. Williams, Harley, and Gibbons, association ministers; and by the Rev. John Horsey, congregational minister of Launceston. It is pleasurable to see the progress of the principle of nonconformity and of Christian independency in the rapid advance of this infantine branch of the Christian church, which we understand, "recognizes as the only and sufficient rule of faith and also of church government, THE HOLY SCRIPTURES, especially the New Testament. This secession became organized in 1835, and midst much opposition from confessional influence, and other difficulties of no ordinary character, it has risen to an honourable rank among the independent churches of the land. As an union of churches it appears to have succeeded in carrying out the much to be desired object of real church independency, and a well organized congregational union, based on a New Testament principle of real representation by "men freely chosen" to represent the interests of their now numerous churches, in their annual assembly. We understand that this body already embraces within its union at home and abroad, 600 distinct places of worship, 100 itinerant, and 1100 non-itinerant ministers and preachers; 1,500 class-leaders and 30,000 members; with 300 Sunday schools containing 6,000 teachers, and 40,000 scholars. In Jamaica, belonging to its missions, there are 12 itinerant ministers and upwards of 4000 members. In Nova Scotia and Prince Edward's Island, two itinerant ministers. Hamburgh, (Germany) one; Australia, two; Carrickfergus, (Ireland), one; and in its Welsh missions, two itinerant, and thirty non-itinerant preachers.

TRADE AND COMMERCE.

LONDON GAZETTE.

Friday, June 4.

The following buildings are certified as places duly registered for solemnising marriages, pursuant to the act 6 & 7 Wm. IV., cap. 85:—
Bethania, Festiniog, Merionethshire. John Prichard, superintendent registrar.
St. Benedict's, Hindley, Lancashire. Stephen Gaskell, superintendent registrar.

INSOLVENTS.

STOYHAM, DAVID HILARY, Liverpool, copper merchant, June 3.
WHITWORTH, WILLIAM, Wakefield, Yorkshire, innkeeper, June 4.

BANKRUPTS.

BODEN, JOHN AMORY, Sheffield, razor manufacturer, to surrender June 12, July 16: solicitor, Mr. Tattershall, Great James street, Bedford row.
GUEST, WILLIAM SELLER, Chester, tanner, June 14, July 16: solicitor, Mr. Bowers, Chester.

MACKIE, JAMES, Liverpool, tailor, June 12, July 16: solicitors, Messrs. Adlington and Co., Bedford row.

MARSHALL, JOHN, Bescott Hall and Wednesbury, iron master, June 15, July 16: solicitors, Messrs. Taylor and Co., Bedford Row.

PRICE, WILLIAM BIRCH, and EDWARDS, JOHN, Shrewsbury, bankers, June 23, July 16: solicitor, Mr. Dean, Essex street, Strand.

SMITH, THOMAS, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, grocer, July 2, July 16: solicitors, Messrs. Blake and Tamplin, King's road, Bedford row.

DIVIDENDS.

June 25, Gould, Cheapside and Oxford street, London, and Portsea, Hampshire, stay manufacturer—June 25, Williams, Lambeth walk, haberdasher—June 25, M'Nichol, late of Liverpool, and Davidson, Charleston, South Carolina, merchants—June 14, Lee, Guildford, banker—June 28, Reynolds, Connaught yard, Connaught terrace, Edgeware road, dealer in horses—June 28, Stringer, Houndsditch, wholesale clothier—June 26, Forster, 5 & 6, Philpot lane, tea dealer—June 25, Alston, Pall Mall, tailor—June 25, Banks, Wisbeach, Cambridgeshire, ship builder—July 5, Perks, jun., Stourbridge, Worcestershire, hatter—July 3, Wainwright, Bridgewater, Somersetshire, builder—June 26, R. & J. Melling, Chorlton-upon-Medlock, Lancashire, coach makers—July 2, W. & S. Mear, Norwich, carpenters—June 30, Standley, Birmingham, brass founder—June 28, Howell, Gloucester and Worcester, merchant—June 25, Wood, Loughborough, Leicestershire, wharfinger—July 1, T. & W. Wilson, Liverpool, merchants—June 28, Phillips, Tewkesbury, Gloucestershire, draper—June 29, E. & J. Marriott, Northampton, drapers—June 26, Davis, Chobent, Lancashire, machine maker.

CERTIFICATES—June 25.

Beddingfield, Needham market, Suffolk, yarn manufacturer—Jones, Liverpool, block maker—Wontner, Cloth fair, woollen draper—Widgery, Bristol, leather seller.

PARTNERSHIPS DISSOLVED.

Harvey and Darton, Gracechurch street, London—Steadman and Ellen, Kent coal-wharf, Greenwich, coal merchants—Reaveley and Seater, Hammond's wharf, Queenhithe, London, wholesale stationers—Papillon and Hainsworth, Leeds, wine and spirit merchants—Drayson and Son, Sandwich, Kent, linen drapers—Bebington and Krauss, Manchester, size makers—Hack and Britton, Gloucester, iron merchants—Hollins and Co., Bleasley, Derbyshire, cotton yarn spinners (so far as regards H. Hollins and H. Hollins, jun.)—Chaloner and Catton, Liverpool, provision merchants—Grimshaw and Co., Liverpool, merchants—Avery and Co., 45, Friday street, London, warehousemen (so far as regards Harkness)—Sharshaw and Smith, Stratford-upon-Avon, Warwickshire, butchers—Nevill and Co., 11, Maiden lane, Wood street, London, wholesale hosiers—Dixon and Ridgway, Newton Heath, Lancashire, pill-box makers—Dugan and M'Bryan, Portsmouth, Hampshire, painters—Lineker, Balderton, and Duke, Newark-upon-Trent, Nottinghamshire, brick makers—Tankard and Atkinson, Bradford, Yorkshire, woolstaplers.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

DEUCHAR, ALEXANDER, seal engraver, June 11, July 2.
GILROY, GEORGE, Dundee, manufacturer, June 9, July 7.
MUIR, JOHN, Edinburgh, victual dealer, June 11, July 9.

Tuesday, June 8.

The following buildings are certified as places duly registered for solemnising marriages, pursuant to the act 6 and 7 Wm. IV., cap. 85:—
Baptist Chapel, Street, near Glastonbury, Somersetshire. H. Badcocke, superintendent registrar.

Carmel Chapel, Newbridge, Glamorganshire. J. W. Edwards, superintendent registrar.
Latimer Chapel, Bridge street, St. Dunstan's, Stepney. W. Leach, superintendent registrar.

INSOLVENTS.

HAMNETT, SAMUEL, Liverpool, licensed victualler.
MOBBS, GEORGE, Northampton, glazier.

BANKRUPTS.

DAVENPORT, WILLIAM, Ashby-de-la-Zouch, Leicestershire, cabinet-maker, June 18, July 20: solicitors, Messrs Austen and Hobson, Raymond buildings, Gray's Inn, London, and Messrs. Fisher and Sherwin, or Dewes, Ashby-de-la-Zouch.

DEMA SSE, EMILE MORINIERRE and WOOLER, HENRY THOMAS, Bucklersbury, merchants, June 22, July 20: solicitors, Messrs. Turner and Hensman, Basing lane, City.

ELWELL, HENRY BARBER, Wolverhampton, Staffordshire, japanner June 21, July 20: solicitors, Messrs. Capes and Stuart, Field court, Gray's Inn, London; Mr. Robinson, Wolverhampton.

EVANS, GEORGE, Llanboidy, Carmarthenshire, draper, June 28, July 20: solicitors, Mr. Holcombe, Chancery lane, London, and Mr. Gwynne, Tenby, Pembrokeshire.

HILLARY, AUGUSTUS WILLIAM, Cumberland, iron founder, June 22, July 20: solicitors, Mr. Armstrong, Staple inn, London, and Mr. Benson, Cockermouth.

MILLER, JOSEPH, Clifton, Bristol, cabinet maker, June 15, July 20: solicitor, Mr. Bull, Ely place, Holborn.

MUNTON, WILLIAM, Greatford, Lincolnshire, miller, June 17, July 20: solicitors, Messrs. Clowes and Wedlake, King's Bench walk; Messrs. Thompson and Son, Stamford.

TAYLE, JOHN, Carmarthen, grocer, June 28, July 20: solicitors, Messrs. Poole and Gamlin, Gray's Inn Square, London; Mr. Livetts, Bristol.

TAYLOR, FREDERICK, Tunbridge wells, painter, June 18, July 20: solicitors, Messrs. Egan, Waterman, and Wright, Essex street, Strand, London; Messrs. Stone and Son, Tunbridge wells.

PARTNERSHIPS DISSOLVED.

Moline and Woods, bankers, Godalming, Surrey—Simper and Martin, confectioners, Poole—Rutherford, and Co., Sheffield, britannia metal manufacturers (so far as regards J. Stacy)—Brine and Furlong, Cheetham Vale, and Little Green, near Manchester, dyers—Spencer and Bangham, Canterbury, chymists and druggists—Dutton and Co., Runcorn, Cheshire, school slate manufacturers (so far as regards M'Turk)—Horsfall, and Co., Sidney, New South Wales, wool dealers—Delveau and Brown, Berners street, Oxford street, harp manufacturers—Palmer and Fearn, Tolcarne Mills, Penzance, Cornwall, millers—Leddard and Price, Reading, Berkshire, linen drapers—Tomlinson and Wallis, Upper Penton street, Islington, pawnbrokers—Wing and Stock, Beddgelert, Canarvonshire, miners—Cooper and Co., Holbeck, Yorkshire, joiners and builders—Hinchcliffe and Heap, Honley Mills, Yorkshire, scribbling and fulling millers—Lewis and Knight, Reading, Berkshire, brewers—Wigglesworth and Co., Halifax, Yorkshire, woolstaplers—Smith and Co., Great Grimsby, Lincolnshire, curriers—Matheson and Co., Glasgow, dyers.

DIVIDENDS.

July 1, Pound, Red Cow, Dalston, licensed victualler—July 1, Robinson, late of Gracechurch street, but now of Turnham green, woollen draper—June 22, Mott, Pall mall, pianoforte maker, and of Dean street, Soho, distiller—June 29, Burghart, Clifford street, Bond street, tailor—June 30, Brydon, Abchurch lane, City, wholesale druggist—July 1, Barber, J. and E., Cowper's court, Cornhill, stock brokers—July 1, Fry, Great Ormond street, and Bridge street, dealer—July 1, Chapman and Parker, Grove, Southwark, flax spinners—June 29, Young and Bacon, Saint Mary at Hill, brokers—June 29, Wagner, Great Winchester street, merchant—July 1, Eames, Haymarket, horse dealer—July 1, Bonner and Gibbons, Thame, Oxfordshire, furniture brokers—July 16, Stoker, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, corn dealer—July 2, Hebblewhite, Kingston-upon-Hull, woollen draper—July 1, Wilde, Ross, Herefordshire—July 8, Feaver, Nether Compton, Dorsetshire, sail cloth manufacturer—June 30, Todd, Birmingham, factor—July 9, Terry, Bristol, ship chandler—July 6, Prideaux, Bristol, scrivener.

CERTIFICATES.

Exley, Riches court, Lime street, City, merchant—Moorey, High street, Peckham, ironmonger—Bridgewater, Birmingham, victualler—Baker, Sidmouth, Devonshire, brewer—Jeanes, Exeter, bookseller.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

DUNCAN M'LAREN, Glasgow, spirit merchant, June 11, July 1.
THOMAS HENDERSON and Co., Kirkcaldy, wine and spirit merchants, June 15, July 6.

HUTCHISON and Bowe, Leith, wine and spirit merchants, June 11, July 1.

BRITISH FUNDS.

	Wed.	Thurs.	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.
3 per cent. Consols	89½	90	90½	90	90	89½
Ditto for Account	90½	90½	90½	—	88½	89
3 per cents. Reduced	88½	88½	88½	89	88½	88½
3½ per cents. Reduced	97½	97½	97½	97½	97½	97½
New 3½ per cents.	99	98½	98½	—	—	—
Long Annuities	12½	12½	12½	12½	12½	12½
Bank Stock	169½	168½	169	170	169	170
India Stock	253	251	—	—	218	—
Exchequer Bills	13 pm.	7 pm.	8 pm.	9 pm.	6 pm.	6 pm.
India Bonds, 3 percent.....	1 pm.	3 pm.	—	3 pm.	—	par

FOREIGN FUNDS.

Austrian	—	Mexican	28
Belgian	100½	Peruvian	15½
Brazilian	67½	Portuguese 5 per cents	34
Buenos Ayres	22½	Ditto 3 per cents	20½
Columbian	21½	Russian	113½
Danish	77½	Spanish Active	23½
Dutch 2½ per cents	52½	Ditto Passive	5½
Ditto 5 per cents	99½	Ditto Deferred	11½

SHARES.

Railways—		L. & B. Quarter Shares	23½
Birmingham and Derby	60	London and Brighton	46½
Birmingham and Gloucester	65	London and Croydon Trunk	13½
Blackwall	19½	London and Greenwich	8½
Bristol and Exeter	35	Ditto New	17½
Cheltenham and Gt. Western	31	Manchester and Birmingham	26
Eastern Counties	8½	Manchester and Leeds	53
Edinburgh and Glasgow	34	Midland Counties	89
Gosport Junction	45	Ditto Quarter Shares	11½
Great North of England	—	North Midland	68
Great Western	95	Ditto New	31
Ditto New	61½	South Eastern and Dover	15
Ditto Fifths	11½	South Western	56
London and Birmingham	159	Ditto Tenth's	2

MARKETS.

GRAIN, MARK LANE, June 7.

The supply of English Wheat for this day's market from the home counties being very moderate, it was cleared off at an advance of 1s. per qr. on the currency of this day week. Good fresh foreign sells on the same terms.

The trade is dull for flour, and prices without alteration.

The sale for barley is limited, and there is no change in its value.

The supply of English, Scotch, and Irish oats last week amounted to nearly 30,000 qrs., in addition to which several vessels got in for this day's market. There is a further decline in price of 6d. to 1s. per qr.

Peas are without change in price.

Beans meet a dull sale, and are 1s. per qr. cheaper.

Wheat, Red New 51 to 59	Malt, Ordinary.. 48 .. 53	Beans, Old	38 to 40
Fine	Pale	Harrow	37 .. 41
White	Peas, Hog	Oats, Feed	23 .. 25
Fine	Maple	Fine	24 .. 28
Rye	Boilers	Poland	23 .. 26
Barley	Beans, Ticks... 34 .. 36	Potato	23 .. 26
Malting			

WEEKLY AVERAGE FOR JUNE 5.	AGGREGATE AVERAGE OF SIX WEEKS.	DUTY ON FOREIGN CORN FOR THE PRESENT WEEK.
Wheat	Wheat	Wheat
Barley	Barley	Barley
Oats	Oats	Oats
Rye	Rye	Rye
Beans	Beans	Beans
Peas	Peas	Peas

PROVISIONS, LONDON, June 7.

The arrivals last week from Ireland were 278 firkins butter, and 3,174 bales bacon, and from foreign ports 11,013 casks butter.

The supplies of foreign butter continuing abundant, cause but little inquiry for new Irish in this market; the best Dutch we quote at 90s. landed.

The bacon market was in an excited state last week, and an advance over previous rates obtained. Prime Waterford sizeable sold at 60s. on board, and heavy 57s. landed; we quote sizeable 58s. to 61s., and heavy 57s. to 58s. Lard quiet, 70s. to 72s. landed. Hams according to size, &c., 60s. to 74s. landed.

POTATOES, SOUTHWARK, June 7.

A liberal supply of potatoes has been received in the London market during the past week. A larger supply of new potatoes was also sent to market by the neighbouring farmers on Saturday last, than has been known for several years at this early period.

Scotch Reds	per ton 30s. to 60s.	Kent Kidneys	per ton 00s. to 00s.
Yorkshire Reds	60 .. 80	Whites	50 .. 60
Wisbeach	50 .. 60	Irish	— .. 30

HOPS, BOROUGH, June 7.

The duty at the close of last week was backed at £145,000, but the cold of Saturday and last night has checked the growth of the vines, and it is expected that the duty will recede. There is but little business doing in the market, and prices are without alteration. The last account from Maidstone states—In this and the adjoining parishes, Boxley, Bearsted, Otford, Leeds, Loese, &c., great improvement is visible during the last week. Those vines which were looking badly have recovered their healthy colour, the fly has nearly disappeared, and the present weather is highly propitious.

BUTCHER'S MEAT, SMITHFIELD, Monday, June 7.

Although the market to-day was fairly supplied with beasts as to numbers, the beef trade was brisk at an advance in the currencies noted on Monday last, of from 2d. to 4d. per 8lbs., and a good clearance was speedily effected. Sheep were largely supplied, yet the demand for them was steady, at fully last week's prices. Lambs came freely to hand, whilst the sale for them was animated, at late rates. The veal trade was dull, at the quotations. In pigs, little was doing.

Beef	3s. 4d. to 4s. 8d.	Pork	4s. 0d. to 4s. 10d.
Mutton	3 4 .. 4 6	Lamb	5 8 .. 6 10
Veal	5 0 .. 5 8		

HEAD OF CATTLE AT SMITHFIELD.

	Beasts.	Sheep.	Calves.	Pigs.
Friday	582	9,260	366	480
Monday	2,504	27,200	168	617

WOOL, June 7.

Prices merely nominal, scarcely enough business being transacted to fix the rates. Down Teggs

Down Teggs	1s. 1d. to 1s. 2d.	Flannel Wool	0s. 9½d. to 1s. 1½d.
Half-bred Hogs	1 1 .. 1 2	Blanket Wool	0 5 .. 0 8
Ewes and Wethers	0 10 .. 0 11	Skin, Combing	0 11 .. 1 1

HAY, SMITHFIELD, June 7.—At per load of 36 trusses.

Coarse Meadow Hay	80s. to 85s.	Clover Hay	105s. to 120s.
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GROCERIES, TUESDAY, June 8.

TEA.—Yesterday there was a good demand both from the trade and speculators, and prices further improved about 1d. per lb.; sales to some extent were made in free trade common Congou and Twankay at 2s. to 2s. 2d., and in Company's Congou at 2s. 2d., cash. To-day, however, there was not so much desire to purchase, and a limited amount of business was done, but prices were firm, and a few parties disposed to realise. Company's Congou closed at 2s. 2½d. per lb., cash, and free trade low Congou and Twankay at 2s. 0½d. to 2s. 2d. per lb., cash.

COFFEE.—The market was inactive to-day for all kinds of Coffee: at public sale 2455 bags Ceylon were only partly sold at 64s. to 67s. for good and fine ordinary, and very fine 74s. to 78s., which is 1s. to 2s. under former rates; but 90 casks &c. Jamaica all sold at full rates, and fetched 107s. to 122s. for middling and good middling. Of Mocha 188 bales, &c., were offered, and sold at 102s. to 122s. for fair and fine ordinary, which are full prices. In Foreign few sales were made.

SUGAR.—The raw Sugar market was in a dull state to-day; both grocers and refiners purchased with much caution, and the private sales amounted to only 200 hhds. and tierces at prices about 6d. under those of Friday. At public sale 120 hhds. Barbadoes only partly sold at 62s. 6d. to 71s. for middling to fine, which is 6d. to 1s. lower.

TALLOW.—The demand for Russian Tallow continues very limited. Fine P. Y. Candle has sold at 46s. 3d. South American fine hard has brought 41s. to 45s. per cwt. The public sales last week comprised 163 serons, 250 pipes, 145 casks, 28 barrels South American, and 13 casks East India; the former sold at 31s. 3d. to 41s. 3d., the latter 46s. 6d. to 46s. 9d., the quality being very good. The arrivals of South American are very large, and in consequence the market remains flat, Russian Tallow continues at about 46s. 3d. per cwt. on the spot. South American Tallow 37s. to 42s. 9d., according to quality.

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